TINA LENDARI is Assistant Professor in Medieval Vernacular and Early Modern Greek Language and Literature at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. She studied at the Universities of Crete and Cambridge and has taught at the Universities of Crete, Patras, Ioannina, Thessaloniki and Cambridge. From 2004 to 2007 she was a Research Associate on the 'Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek' Project. She has published many articles on textual criticism, linguistic analysis and literary theory as applied to medieval and early modern Greek literature and produced the *editio princeps* of the romance *Livistros and Rodamne*, version V. Her current project is a new edition of the romance *Velthandros and Chrysantza*.

IO MANOLESSOU studied Greek literature and linguistics at the Universities of Athens and Cambridge. She has worked as a Research Associate at the University of Cambridge and as a Lecturer in Historical Linguistics at the University of Patras. She now holds the post of Senior Researcher at the Academy of Athens, working on the compilation of the *Historical Dictionary of Modern Greek*. She has participated in a number of international research projects on Greek dialectology and linguistics, and has published more than fifty papers on various topics focusing on Greek language history, dialectology and lexicography.

NOTIS TOUFEXIS is a Digital Humanities specialist with a background in Classics and a PhD on Early Modern Greek from the University of Hamburg. He was a Research Associate on the 'Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek' Project from 2004 to 2009 and has published a number of articles arising from it.

The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek

DAVID HOLTON

GEOFFREY HORROCKS

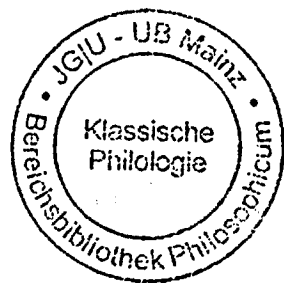MARJOLIJNE JANSSEN

TINA LENDARI

IO MANOLESSOU

NOTIS TOUFEXIS

Arts & Humanities
Research Council

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

© David Holton, Geoffrey Horrocks, Marjolijne Janssen, Stamatina Lentari,
Io Manolessou and Panagiotis Toufexis 2019

The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek

Volume 4

Syntax

Contents

Contents (Volume 4)

Correspondence Table of Graphemes and Phonemes

For the general orientation of the non-specialist user of this Grammar, this correspondence table indicates the relationship between the letters of the Greek alphabet and the phonemes they represent in Medieval and Early Modern Greek. It does not include graphematic particularities such as ligatures, abbreviations, special symbols or scribal idiosyncrasies which may be encountered in manuscript, epigraphic and printed sources, for which see the specific bibliography given in section 4 of the General Introduction (Volume 1). Further details concerning allophonic, regional or other particular realizations are provided, when necessary, in the relevant phoneme sections in Phonology.

Grapheme	Phoneme	Allophone
A α	/a/	
B β	/v/	
Γ γ	/ɣ/	[j]
Δ δ	/ð/	
E ε	/e/	
Z ζ	/z/	
H η	/i/	
Θ θ	/θ/	
I ι	/i/	
K κ	/k/	[c]
Λ λ	/l/	[ʎ]
M μ	/m/	
N ν	/n/	[ɲ]
Ξ ξ	/ks/	
O o	/o/	
Π π	/p/	
P ρ	/r/	
Σ σ ς	/s/	
T τ	/t/	
Y υ	/y/ > /i/	
Φ φ	/f/	
X χ	/x/	[ç]
Ψ ψ	/ps/	
Ω ω	/o/	

Digraph	Phoneme	Allophone
αι	/e/	
αυ	/af/ – /av/	
γγ	/ng/	[ŋg] – [g]
γκ	/ng/	[ŋg] – [g]
ει	/i/	
ευ	/ef/ – /ev/	
μπ	/mb/	[b]
ντ	/nd/	[d]
οι	/y/ > /i/	
ου	/u/	
τζ	/ts/ – /dz/	
υι	/y/ > /i/	

Abbreviations

Cross-references within the Grammar are given by Chapter and Section, e.g. 2.6.3, if they refer to the same Part, but if to a different Part they begin with the relevant Part number, e.g. II, 3.1.

Periods and Dates

AG	Ancient Greek
EMedG	Early Medieval Greek
LMedG	Late Medieval Greek
EMG	Early Modern Greek
SMG	Standard Modern Greek
ca.	circa
c.	century

General

app. crit.	apparatus criticus
f., ff.	folio(s)
ibid.	in the same text, i.e. the one cited immediately before
id./idem/eadem	by the same author
ms(s)	manuscript(s)
vs.	versus

Grammatical Terms

acc.	accusative
act.	active
adv.	adverb
aor.	aorist
F/fem.	feminine
fut.	future
gen.	genitive
imp.	imperative
imperf.	imperfect
ind.	indicative
inf.	infinitive
M/masc.	masculine
N/neut.	neuter
NP	noun phrase

nom.	nominative
pass.	passive
perf.	perfect
pl.	plural (e.g. 3 pl. = 3rd person plural)
pluperf.	pluperfect
PP	prepositional phrase
prep.	preposition
pres.	present
pron.	pronoun
sg.	singular (e.g. 1 sg. = 1st person singular)
subj.	subjunctive
voc.	vocative
VP	verb phrase

Languages

Alb.	Albanian
Fr.	French
IE	Indo-European
Ital.	Italian
MedLat.	Medieval Latin
Lat.	Latin
Occit.	Occitan
OFr.	Old French
Port.	Portuguese
Rom.	Romanian
Slav.	Slavonic
Turk.	Turkish
Ven.	Venetian

Part IV

Syntax

Introduction

The eight syntax chapters were written on the basis of material taken from the grammar database set up by Notis Toufexis. The arduous work of selecting and compiling the examples was done chiefly by Marjolijne Janssen, with the assistance of Tina Lendari, Io Manolessou and Notis Toufexis. Further data were added when necessary for the sake of completeness.

The purpose of these chapters is to characterize the syntax of Medieval and Early Modern Greek by means of the rules that define its various constructions; no systematic effort has therefore been made to compare Medieval Greek with its ancient predecessor or its modern successor, though diachronic observations are sometimes offered where these seemed helpful. The rules in each chapter are numbered sequentially for ease of reference and presented in bold. Where necessary, further detail is supplied immediately below a rule, followed by a set of illustrative instantiations, stripped of irrelevant and superfluous detail. For example, since verse, syntactically speaking, differs from prose primarily in having a higher proportion of "marked" constituent orders, I have cited verse in a continuous format, without marking line-ends. I have also omitted any parts of examples, whether in verse or prose, that are not germane to the point under discussion (the deletions are indicated ...). In each set of examples, the material is organized chronologically, with the earliest material coming first. In the case of documentary texts, their place of origin is specified if known, together with their date. Literary texts, by contrast, are assigned to a century (sometimes tentatively), and where two different centuries are given, the first is that of the manuscript(s), the second that of composition. As far as possible, examples were chosen to illustrate not only the operation of rules but also the geographical spread and chronological range of the relevant structures. In some cases there are additional Notes below the citations, dealing, for example, with difficult, unusual, irregular or distributionally restricted phenomena.

I should add here that the spellings in the examples cited are those of the original editions, except that traditional subjunctive endings have been standardized by the addition of iota subscript in the relevant forms if this was omitted. But having blocks of examples exhibiting several different systems of accentuation simultaneously seemed not only an unnecessary distraction from syntactic matters but also aesthetically unattractive. A regularized polytonic form of accentuation has therefore been employed throughout, regardless of the preferred practice of individual editors. I offer no apologies.

Particular thanks are due to Marjolijne Janssen, who read through the complete text, updated several references in the light of recent publications, checked and normalised the orthography, and most importantly, corrected a number of errors of interpretation. I am very grateful for her contribution. I should also like to record here my gratitude to Peter

Mackridge, who, with characteristic generosity, offered to comment in detail on an earlier draft of these chapters. His careful reading of a complex text saved me from more than a few errors of form and interpretation, and raised a number of important issues that had simply passed me by. The final version has been greatly improved by the incorporation of his corrections and observations, and by the rewriting of several parts of the text in the light of his expert advice.

GCH

1　Main Clauses

1.1　Subject and Predicate

Complete sentences consist of at least one main clause and may contain any number of subordinate clauses (see Chapters 2–3 and 5.3.3). Two or more clauses may be conjoined or stand in apposition (see Chapter 7).

All clauses combine the meaning of a subject with that of a predicate, even when there is no "overt" subject present and its "content" has to be supplied indirectly, e.g. by reference to the verbal morphology (in finite clauses, see Rule (1) NOTE (i) immediately below), or through rules of control (in some non-finite clauses, see 3.4, Rules (36) and (37), and 3.8). This chapter deals with main clauses.

1.1.1　Subjects

(1) **The subject of a finite verb is in the nominative case; the verb agrees with its subject in person and number.**

1 sg.	ἐγὼ τὸ θέλω κι ἀγαπῶ	14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 578
2 sg.	ἐσὺ κλωσσᾶς τὰ χηνόπουλα	17th c., *Bertoldin.* 128.14
3 sg.	καὶ ὁ φθόνος ἐτυφλώσεν	15th c./14th c., *Velis.* χ 536
1 pl.	ἡμεῖς μὲν ζῶμεν	1256, Palatia (Miletos), NYSTAZOPOULOU 1966: 1, 288.1
2 pl.	ἐχαλασθήκετε ἐσεῖς κακῶς	16th c./?12th c., *Dig.* A 3219
3 pl.	ὡς καὶ ᾽μαρτύρουν αὐτὰ οἱ καλοὶ ἄνθρωποι	
	?1125, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 18, 417.7	

NOTES

(i) Subjects are routinely omitted when their "content" is pronominal (i.e. = "I", "you", "he/she/it", etc.) and non-emphatic/non-contrastive, since the relevant person/number information is directly inferable from the agreement morphology on the verb (though additional contextual information may be required to identify the referent):

1 sg.	λέγω σε τὴν αἰτίαν μου	12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 312.10
3 sg.	παρεκάθισε τὴν πόλιν	
	15th–16th c., ?Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.III, 252.53.2	

(ii) Conjoined subjects of different persons trigger agreement as follows:

1 sg./pl. + 2 sg./pl. > 1 pl.
1 sg./pl. + 3 sg./pl. > 1 pl.
2 sg./pl. + 3 sg./pl. > 2 pl.
3 sg./pl. + 3 sg./pl. > 3 pl.

(iii) Exceptions to the regular agreement rules include:
Agreement "by sense", e.g. where a formally singular subject denoting a collective entity takes a plural verb:

καὶ τόσον πολὺν ἀρίφνητον <u>ἔφθασαν</u> εἰς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον <u>τὸ φουσάτον</u>
16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 20.12–13 (Konstantinopulos)

Agreement with only the closest of a set of subjects:

καὶ ποσῶς οὐκ <u>ὠφελήσει καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον</u> καὶ τὸ στέμμα τοῦ θεοῦ σου
14th c./15th c., ERMON., *Ilias* 7.112–14

Archaizing "Attic syntax", i.e. singular verb with neuter plural subject (mainly in earlier poetry with other learned elements):

ὡς γὰρ <u>τὰ ξύλα</u> τοῦ πυρὸς τὴν φλόγαν <u>ἐπαυξάνει</u>   ?12th–13th c., *Spaneas* P 131

(iv) For the agreement of nominal and adjectival predicative complements, see immediately below.

1.1.2   Nominal and Adjectival Predicative Complements

(2) In clauses containing a copular verb ("be", "become", "remain", "be made/ called/appointed" etc.), a nominal/adjectival complement attributing a property to the subject agrees with the subject in case; complement nouns (with inherent gender) also agree in number, while complement adjectives agree in both gender and number; predicate nouns normally lack an article (see 5.3.2, Rule (76) NOTE (i)).

Nom. Masc. Sg. Subject + Nom. Masc. Sg. Adjectival Complement

<u>ὁ γέρων νέος</u> οὐ γίνεται   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 222

Nom. Fem. Sg. Subject + Nom. Fem. Sg. Adjectival Complement

σαράντα ἡμέρες λείπεται <u>ἄψαλτη ἡ ἐκκλησιά</u> τους   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 768

Nom. Fem. Sg. Subject + Nom. Sg. Nominal Complement (Inherently Feminine)

ἔμεινεν <u>χήρα ἡ κυρὰ ἡ Τσαρλόττα</u>   16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* B 32.18

Nom. Masc. Sg. Subject (omitted) + Nom. Sg. Nominal Complements (Inherently Neuter)

καὶ βασιλέως <u>παιδὶν</u> ἤμουν, μεγάλου ἀνθρώπου <u>ἐκγόνι</u>
16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 51

(3) If a transitive verb takes a nominal/adjectival complement attributing a property to its object (normally without the mediation of a copula), the predicate noun or adjective agrees with the object in case, and in number and gender as in Rule (1).

Acc. Masc. Sg. Object + Acc. Sg. Nominal Complement (inherently masculine)

πολλὰ τὸν ἔχω <u>εὔκαιρητὴν ἐκεῖνον τὸν γονέαν</u>   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 208

Acc. Neut. Sg. Object + Acc. Neut. Sg. Adjectival Complement

δεῖξον <u>λοξὸν τὸ βλέμμα</u>   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 170

1.2   Statements

1.2.1   Statements about the Present and the Past

(4) The indicative mood is used to make a factual statement about the present or the past (for the uses of the different tenses of the indicative, see 4.4); a factual statement is negated with οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν.

Present

<u>λέγω</u> σε τὴν αἰτίαν μου   12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 312.10

<u>συναπαντάει</u> μου ὁ Πόθος   15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 296

Imperfect

ὡς καὶ '<u>μαρτύρουν</u> αὐτὰ οἱ καλοὶ ἄνθρωποι
?1125, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 18, 417.7

καὶ <u>δίδαμέν</u> του γέννημαν   16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 10

Aorist

<u>οὐδὲν ἐπέρασεν</u> ποσῶς καιρὸς μικρὸς κι ὀλίγος   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7944

<u>παρεκάθισε</u> τὴν πόλιν   15th–16th c., ?Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.III, 252.53.2

NOTE

(i) The present indicative may be prefixed with νά in vivid narrative. The earliest example in the database is from ca. 13th/14th c. In origin this construction is perhaps a combination of the "historic" present (4.4, Rule 46 and NOTES), employed to bring a story to life "before the reader's eyes", with the deictic/presentative particle νά (cf. French *voici/voilà*), though homophony with the mood marker νά (see 4.3) soon led to "subjunctive" spellings of the verb endings and presumably the conviction that the forms involved were indeed subjunctive:

καὶ τὸ ραβδὶν ἐπαίξαμεν καὶ κονταροκτυποῦμεν· καὶ τὰ φαρία <u>νὰ πηδοῦν, νὰ παίζουν</u> τὸ κοντάριν, <u>νὰ μοιάζη</u> πόλεμος σωστὸς καὶ φόνος πρὸς ἀλλήλων
15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* V 676–8

1.2.2   Statements about the Future: Possible and Hypothetical Events

Though speakers may be confident about the future occurrence of particular events, the future objectively is an unknown domain and statements about it cannot be strictly factual. "Future events", i.e. those whose occurrence speakers feel able to predict with confidence, therefore form a continuum with modally qualified "possible events", i.e. those whose actual or eventual occurrence speakers are in varying degrees unsure about. Forms denoting futurity and different types of modality (epistemic, deontic, etc.) may have a general/atemporal reading alongside the future one: compare, for example, *will* and *may* in *X will/may happen (tomorrow/in general)*. In present and past time future and modal forms can both be used to speculate about situations whose factual status the speaker is ignorant of, cf. *X may/will be happening (now); X may/will have happened (yesterday)*. In all cases, "future" *will* carries greater conviction than modals such as *may*.

Though any main clause may be tied to a condition, some modal forms effectively presuppose one, whether explicitly stated or contextually implied, e.g. *would* in [*if X happened*] *Y would happen*; [*if X were happening*] *Y would happen/be happening*; [*if X had happened*] *Y would have happened*. Such "remote" conditions (protases) set up situations for abstract/theoretical consideration, i.e. they are, strictly speaking, atemporal, with no commitment to their occurrence in the past, present or future. But they are often used to speculate about the past, present or future when knowledge is lacking or, in past and present time, to consider counterfactual scenarios when the truth is known. The main clause (apodosis) with its "conditional" verb form denotes the "hypothetical" consequence of the potential or impossible fulfilment of the remote condition. In the absence of an inherent temporal reference point, the event of the main clause is typically taken to be "in the future" relative to that of the condition, which is in turn taken to be "in the past" relative to its consequence. "Past-tense" verb forms are therefore typically used in protases and "future-in-the-past" forms in apodoses. Futures/modals marked as "past", like *would* and *might*, distinguish different degrees of conviction about the likelihood of the consequence, given the prior fulfilment of the remote condition, cf. [*if X happened*] *Y would/might happen*.

LMedG/EMG does not distinguish systematically between what "will occur" and what "may/can/shall occur" or between what "would occur" and what "might/could/should occur". Nor does it systematically distinguish what "would etc. occur" (now/in future) from "what would etc. have occurred" (in the past). It does, however, distinguish the language user's subjective view of actions as "bounded" (perfective) or "unbounded" (imperfective), and this aspectual distinction partly characterizes the forms used to refer to future and possible/hypothetical events (for verbal aspect, see 4.4). The details of usage are discussed and exemplified below.

1.2.2.1   Verb Forms Denoting Future/Possible Events

(5) **Reference to future/possible events can be made with periphrases consisting of the present tense of the future/modal auxiliaries μέλλω/ἔχω/(ἐ)θέλω + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) infinitive; the negative is οὐ(κ)/ (οὐ)δέν, placed before the auxiliary.**

Since each auxiliary has its own preferences and restrictions, the three options will be presented separately.

Μέλλω + Infinitive

All examples in the database refer to the future, broadly continuing the ancient use "be going to":

Present Infinitive

μέλλουσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ διώκοντες <u>φθάνειν</u>	13th-14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G IV.628
<u>μέλλομεν</u> <u>ἔχειν</u> τὸ ἥμισυ	1232, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 286, 396.6

Aorist Infinitive

πάντες <u>μέλλομεν</u> <u>σταθῆν</u> τὴν φοβερὰν ἡμέραν	15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 1755
<u>μέλλομεν</u> <u>εἰσελθεῖν</u>	1232, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 176, 231.30–1

NOTES

(i) μέλλω + inf. occurs mainly in non-literary, legal and official texts. The present infinitive is favoured in the earlier medieval period and the aorist infinitive in the later medieval period with a consequential blurring of the perfective/imperfective opposition throughout.

(ii) μέλλω + inf. typically carries a strong deontic nuance of "what shall (certainly) be/ what has to be".

Ἔχω + Infinitive

The classical meaning is dynamic ("be able"), but the construction also acquired epistemic/potential, deontic and future uses in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

In the later medieval period, as the corresponding "conditional" εἶχα + infinitive takes on the role of a pluperfect (see 3.3, Rule (34); 4.4), ἔχω in future/modal function is sometimes strengthened through the prefixation of the modal marker ἵνα/νά (with negative μή(ν) placed after the particle). This restricted option is characteristic of lower-register texts and represents the renewal of a form that was increasingly felt to be anomalous with the functional shift of εἶχα + infinitive. It proved to be a temporary expedient, however, and the ἔχω-periphrasis henceforth gives ground steadily to the (ἐ)θέλω-periphrasis (see immediately below).

All examples in the database refer to the future and/or have a generic reading:

Present Infinitive

Ἴλλος <u>ἔχει</u> <u>εἶναι</u> εἰς τὸ παλάτιον	9th c., Theophanes, *Chronogr.* 127.13 (ed. De Boor)
ἀλλ᾽ ἡμεῖς ἑτέροις <u>ἔχομεν</u> <u>ἀκολουθεῖν</u>	10th c., *De ceremoniis* II 427.13 (ed. Reiske)

Aorist Infinitive

<u>ἔχεις</u> ... <u>εὑρεῖν</u> καὶ <u>νοήσειν</u> πάντα, ὅτι εὔκολον ἔχουν τὸ νόημα	
	12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 310.10–11
<u>ἐξαλαφρώσειν</u> <u>ἔχεις</u> τοὺς πόνους	16th c./15th c., LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 557

νὰ ἔχω + Infinitive

ἐπεὶ ἔνι γὰρ κι ὁ τόπος σου γυμνὸς ἐκ τὰ φουσσᾶτα,

νὰ τὸν ἐπάρουν εὔκολα καὶ <u>νὰ τὸν ἔχης χάσει</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4236–7

NOTES

(i)   Use of ἔχω + infinitive as a future had a "low" origin, and though it gained acceptance over time, it is used mainly in literary rather than official texts.

(ii) Use of ἔχω with both aorist and present infinitives (the latter only rarely) belongs to the early medieval period. Subsequently the aorist infinitive alone is attested, with neutralization of the aspectual contrast.

('Ε)θέλω + Infinitive

The principal ancient meaning was "want" and this option was retained. But future, epistemic/potential and deontic uses are all well established by the later medieval period, when the (ἐ)θέλω-periphrasis begins to take over from ἔχω (see above). With animate subjects it is often difficult or impossible to decide whether the intended force is "want to X" or "will X".

The majority of examples in the database refer to the future and/or have a generic reading, but a handful of later examples occur with clear reference to the present in inferential/epistemic use:

Future/Generic

Present Infinitive

ἕως τότε γὰρ <u>θέλεις εἶναι</u> εὐγενής

14th c./11th c., Kekaumenos, *Strategikon* V 298 ccxviii (ed. Roueché)

ὅλοι τὸν <u>θέλουσι γελᾶ</u>, <u>μέμφεσται</u> κι <u>ὀνειδίζει</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8185

Aorist Infinitive

<u>τολμῆσειν θέλω</u>   ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.5v.11

<u>θέλει ἰδεῖν</u> ὁ λεγόμενος ἀποκρισιάρης   1498, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.12

Present (Inferential/Epistemic)

Present Infinitive

<u>κοιμᾶσται θέλει</u> ἀληθινά, γιὰ κεῖνο δὲν προβαίνει

17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* I.19

NOTES

(i)   The θέλω-periphrasis is the only one with a fully developed aspectual contrast in the infinitive, reflecting its normalization within the verbal paradigm as the dominant future form in LMedG. Its partial grammaticalization is associated with the appearance of shortened forms of the auxiliary (θές, θέ(ν), θέμε(ν), θέτε, θέν(ε)) from around the 15th c.

(ii) This is the only infinitival periphrasis used to denote speculations/inferences about the present, a further reflection of its development as the "regular" future tense of later MedG and EMG.

(6) **From ca. 12th–13th c. onwards the infinitival complement may be replaced by a periphrasis consisting of the modal marker ἵνα/νὰ + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν, placed before the auxiliary.**

Future/Generic

Aorist Subjunctive

τὰ ὄρη ... τὰ <u>μέλλεις νὰ περάσης</u>   16th c./15th c., DELLAP. *Erot. Apokr.* 3147

<u>θέλει νὰ φανῇ</u> ἡ ἀγάπη του   16th c., *Dig.* P VII.386.24

<u>ἔχει νὰ τοῦ ἔλθῃ</u> αὐτὸς ὁ θάνατος   1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 14, 35.5–6

Present Subjunctive

ἡ γνωριμίδα τοὺς κριτάδες <u>θέλει νὰ ἔνη</u> τοιούτη   16th c./?13th c., *Assizes* A 52.21

Present (Inferential/Epistemic)

Present Subjunctive

καὶ αὐτὸς κάτι <u>θέλει νὰ ξεύρῃ</u> ποὺ συντυχαίνει ἔτσι

1653–5, Venice, FONKIČ 2000: 240, f.1v.8–9

ἐγὼ γελιῶμαι ... ἢ αὐτὴ <u>θέλει νὰ εἶναι</u> ἡ μεγαλύτερη τύχη

18th c., *Don Kis.* 49.16–17

τὸ κοτσὶ <u>θέλει νὰ εἶναι</u> κανενοῦ στρατοκόπου   18th c., *Don Kis.* 49.24

NOTES

(i)   This substitution does not affect νὰ ἔχω + (aorist) infinitive.

(ii) The present subjunctive is very rare with μέλλω νὰ and ἔχω νὰ, as expected on the basis of their infinitival counterparts (cf. above). Both these periphrases often have strong deontic overtones.

(iii) Impersonal μέλλει νὰ (sometimes μέλλεται νὰ in Crete and Cyprus) and θέλει νὰ are also found from 14th c., in imitation of the impersonal modal verbs πρέπει, ἐνδέχεται, μπορεῖ (see 4.3). Both these periphrases may again have strong deontic nuances. Impersonal ἔχει νὰ is very rare.

(iv) Personal θέλω νὰ in the early part of the later medieval period is normally volitive/modal and so partly distinguished from the mainly "future" θέλω + infinitive. But from ca. 14th c. onwards θέλω νὰ is also used as a future, albeit less frequently than its infinitival counterpart. In the very late medieval and early modern periods, this periphrasis also acquires inferential/epistemic use with present time reference.

(v)   From the 14th c. future/modal θέλω may even be complemented by the modally strengthened infinitival periphrasis νὰ ἔχω + (aorist) infinitive:

καὶ <u>θέλω νὰ</u> σᾶς <u>ἔχω εἰπεῖ</u> καὶ νὰ σᾶς ἀφηγήσω   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3140

(vi) θέλω + "bare" subjunctive appears beside θέλω νά + subjunctive from ca. 14th c., both variants sometimes using the shortened forms of the auxiliary:

θέλου⟨ν⟩ ἀνακατωθοῦ⟨ν⟩ οὖλοι οἱ Χριστιανοί   1496, Rhodes, Lefort 1981: 9, 61.7

(vii) From θὲς νά, θὲ(ν) νά etc. an invariant θὲ νά eventually evolved in the 15th and 16th c., apparently first in southern areas. The modern θά, first attested in late-16th-c. Crete, represents a further reduction of θὲ νά:

θὲ νά + subj: καὶ ὅλα θὲ νὰ πάψου   16th c., *Alex.* Rim. 385

θά + subj: σήμερο θὰ σὲ στερευτῶ

17th c./16th c., Chortatsis, *Panor.* I.15

(7) Reference to future/possible events can also be made with the modal particle ἵνα/νά + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is μή(ν)/μηδέν, placed after ἵνα/νά.

This construction goes back to the Roman imperial period, when it originally had deontic/optative force, but it soon evolved into a general marker of the subjunctive mood with a wide variety of modal functions, including the expression of futurity. It is often difficult to distinguish future use from potential/epistemic ("may/can") or deontic ("should") uses.

Present Subjunctive

ἐκεῖ νὰ σὲ ἀναμένω   13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G IV.211

κάθα χρόνο ... νὰ στέλλη ... μ΄ χιλιάδες δουκάτα

1483, Rhodes, Lefort 1981: 2, 41.5–6

Aorist Subjunctive

ἐρώτα καὶ νὰ μάθης   13th c./12th c., Glykas, *Stichoi* 137

ἅμα τὸ φορέσῃ, εἰς γῆν νὰ πέσῃ ἐκ τὸ ἄλογον

15th–16th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* α 2992–3

ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἔμπροστεν Φράγκος νὰ μὴ μᾶς

βιάσῃ ν᾽ ἀλλάξωμεν τὴν πίστιν μας   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2093–4

NOTES

(i) Νὰ (μή(ν)) + subjunctive may also be read as a command or a wish if the context permits (see Rules (13), (14) and (20)).

(ii) Use of this construction as a future declines during the later medieval period as the θέλω-periphrasis and its later reflexes become more dominant in this function.

(iii) In strong denials οὐ μή(ν) + subjunctive may be used; νά is normally absent, but if used, follows the negation:

1 sg.   ποτὲ σας ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ ρόγαν οὐ μὴ σᾶς δώσω   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5116

2 sg.   ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν ψυχίτσα μου δόλον οὐ μὴ νὰ ἔχῃς

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4065

3 sg.   ἂν δὲ ζητήσῃς ... γυναῖκαν νὰ μὲ πάρῃς, οὐ μὴ θελήσῃ ὁ πατέρας σου

15th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 649

(8) At the very end of the period covered by this Grammar speculative/inferential reference to the past (= "will have done X (I suppose)") may be made using θέλει, probably impersonally in all cases, + aorist indicative.

πλὴν ... εἰς Κορυφοὺς θέλει ἀλλάχθηκαν

1681, Ioannina, Veloudis 1987: 9, 304, f.1v.13–14

θέλει ἐμετέβαλεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς γίγαντας εἰς εἶδος ἀνεμομύλων

18th c., *Don Kis.* 46.15–16

1.2.2.2   Verb Forms Denoting Hypothetical/Conditional Events

As we have seen, hypothetical conditions and their consequences can be used to speculate "theoretically" about the past, present and future, or "counterfactually" about the past and present. Languages differ, however, in the extent to which real-world time reference is marked in the "conditional" verb forms employed. LMedG/EMG makes no clear temporal distinctions in such cases (the "past tense" of the protasis and the "future-in-the-past" of the apodosis being mutually relative tenses, see above), and relies instead on choice of aspect and context.

Verb forms built to the present/imperfective or aorist/perfective stems are used to reflect the speaker's decision to present an eventuality as unbounded (e.g. continuous/progressive/habitual) or bounded (i.e. a single complete whole). Reference to the present moment, which "progresses" with time, is normally made with an imperfective form on its "progressive" reading, and reference to "general" states of affairs with an imperfective form on its "habitual" reading, cf. *X is happening (now)* with *X happens (usually)*. By contrast, though past and future eventualities may readily be viewed both imperfectively and perfectively, the perfective view is the default case. Thus a LMedG/EMG conditional expression containing an imperfective verb form is typically taken to refer to the present or to a general state of affairs, and one containing a perfective form to the past or the future, with the context discriminating between the two temporal readings. But it is important to remember that this is not necessarily so and that past and future events may also be viewed imperfectively (as continuous/progressive or habitual), just as actions in the present may be viewed perfectively. Equally, some conditional periphrases, like their future counterparts, do not display a full aspectual contrast, and in these cases the reader is required to fall back on context alone.

The following examples of the conditional periphrasis with εἶχα, which is used almost exclusively with aorist/perfective infinitives, should help to clarify. The same construction may be understood in context to refer to the past, present or future:

Past

ἐὰν ... οὐδὲν ἦλθεν ..., οὐδὲν εἶχεν ἐξαναστρέψει   16th c./?13th c., *Assizes* A 91.26–7

"if he had not come (then), he would not have returned (later)"

Present

ἂν οὐ σὲ ᾽γάπουν τὰ πολλά, τώρα σκοτώσει σέ ᾽χα

15th–16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 1571

"if I didn't love you so much, I would kill you now"

Future

ἄν ἤξερες πῶς ἄφτουσι τὰ φύλλα τῆς καρδιᾶς μου ... κρίνω πῶς μ' εἶχες κλαίγει ...

CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* I.2-3

"if you were to know..., I think that you would weep for me"

(9) **Reference to hypothetical events can be made with a conditional periphrasis consisting of the imperfect tense of the future/modal auxiliaries ἔμελλα/εἶχα/ ἤθελα + present (imperfective) infinitive or aorist (perfective) infinitive; the negative is οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν, placed before the auxiliary.**

Ἔμελλον/ἔμελλα + Infinitive

Present Infinitive

ἐν τῷ ἐσθίειν τὴν Ἀγάπην <u>ἔμελλεν κλαίειν</u>   12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 2 150.9

μέλλει διαδέχεσθαι   1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 210.43

Aorist Infinitive

τούτους <u>ἔμελλεν</u> γὰρ <u>κτεῖναι</u>   15th c./14th c., ERMON., *Ilias* 3.171

<u>ἔμελλον προσμεῖναι</u> εἰς τὴν Τραπεζοῦντα   16th c./15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 108.12

NOTES

(i)   This is very much a residual construction in later medieval Greek, used mainly with aorist (perfective) infinitives and typically with a strong deontic nuance ("should/ should have").

(ii) From ca. 14th–15th c. the infinitive may be replaced by νά + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive, the former largely restricted to inherently stative verbs that lack aorist stems.

(iii) Impersonal ἔμελλε νά (ἐμέλλετον νά in the south-west) is a common option, and is occasionally complemented by a past-tense indicative (imperfect or aorist) in place of a subjunctive.

Εἶχον/εἶχα + Infinitive

Present Infinitive

<u>ἀγωνιᾶν εἶχες</u> καὶ <u>ἀδημονεῖν</u>

14th c./11th c., Kekaumenos, *Strategikon* 296, 13–14 (ed. Litavrin)

παρηγοριὰ δὲν <u>εἶχε 'σται</u> τούτη στὰ βάσανά μου

17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* I.183

Aorist Infinitive

οὐκ ἂν εἰς οἶκον μᾶς ποτε <u>εἴχετε πορευθῆναι</u>   13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G I.275

τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν Ρωμαίων <u>κληρονομήσειν εἶχεν</u>   15th c./14th c., *Velis.* χ 371-2

NOTES

(i)   Present (imperfective) infinitives are increasingly rare with εἶχον/εἶχα in the later medieval period, and the verbs attested tend to be inherently stative, i.e. without aorist (perfective) stems.

(ii)   The majority of examples of εἶχον/εἶχα + inf. in the later medieval period occur in the protases of hypothetical/counterfactual conditional sentences, where the shift to pluperfect use originated (see 3.3 and 4.4), and most of the examples in main clauses follow an overt conditional of this type, i.e. as apodoses.

(iii) Εἶχον/εἶχα νά + subjunctive (aorist) is a rare variant, occurring in texts from southern areas.

(iv) Εἶχον/εἶχα + "bare" subjunctive (present or aorist) occurs in late medieval/early modern texts from south-western regions; impersonal εἶχε is also attested in a handful of early modern texts from this area.

(v)   Εἶχον/εἶχα + a past-tense indicative (imperfect, more rarely aorist) is also found on occasion.

(vi) Εἶχον/εἶχα + infinitive may be strengthened through prefixation of the modality marker νά (negative μή(ν) after the particle).

Ἤθελον/ἤθελα + Infinitive

Present Infinitive

<u>ἠθέλαμεν ἔχει</u> καὶ ὀλιγότερον κόπον εἰς τὰς γραφάς

1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 22.9

<u>ἤθελα βλέπει</u> κείνηνε   15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* III.75,6 (1529)

Aorist Infinitive

οὐδέναν (βιβλίον) <u>ἤθελεν εὐρεθῆ</u>   ?post 1356, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.18

<u>στραφῆν ἠθέλαν</u> ἄπρακτοι   15th c./14th c., *Velis.* χ 215

NOTES

(i)   The imperfective/perfective aspectual contrast is well established in this periphrasis, with the present (imperfective) infinitive used much more widely than with μέλλω/ ἔχω, even with non-stative verbs.

(ii)   Ἤθελον/ἤθελα νά + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive mainly has a volitive meaning, but is sometimes also used as a conditional, particularly in texts after 15th c.

(iii) From ca. 14th c. ἤθελον/ἤθελα may be complemented by bare subjunctives, present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective). Impersonal ἤθελε(ν) also occurs from 15th c. Occasionally this combination is prefixed with the modality marker νά:

καὶ ἃ μοῦ 'θελε λείπει καὶ τούτη, φόρσα <u>νά 'θελα ντεσπεραριστῶ</u>

1625, Crete (Chandax), MAVROMATIS 1986, 6, 79.14–15

(iv) The modally strengthened combination νὰ ἔχω + (aorist) infinitive may also be used to complement ἤθελον/ἤθελα:

ἤθελε νὰ ἔχῃ ἀποχωρήσει   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 5785

(v) Ἤθελον/ἤθελα (± νά) may also be complemented by past-tense indicatives (imperfect, less commonly aorist), especially in texts from the Heptanese.

(vi) A reduced/invariable form ἤθε(ν), usually with a bare subjunctive complement, is attested in mainly later texts from southern areas.

(10) Reference to hypothetical events can also be made with the modal particle ἵνα/νὰ + imperfect (past imperfective) indicative or aorist (past perfective) indicative; the negative is μή(ν)/μηδέν placed after the particle.

νά + Imperfect

ἂν ... κ' ἐνίκησέ με εἰς πόλεμον, παρηγορίαν

νὰ τὸ εἶχα   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5005-7

στὴν μέσην του νὰ ἔβανες ὡραῖον δακτυλιδίτσιν   16th c./14th-15th c., *Achil.* O 63

κι ἂς ἤμουν ρογεμένος, νά 'τρωγα καὶ

νὰ χόρταινα   17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* III.108-9

νά + Aorist

καὶ ὁ βλέπων νὰ εἶδεν ἕνωσιν ἀστέρων

δύο μεγάλων   ?12th c. or 13th-14th c., *Eisit.* f.4r.3

ἂν ... ὁ πρίγκιπας ... νὰ εἶχε ... κουρσέψει ..., ὁ

Μέγας ὁ Δεμέστικος ἀργὰ νὰ ἐφουσσατέψεν   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4876-80

ἐὰν εἴχαμεν τὴν δύναμιν, νὰ ἐποιήσαμεν τὸ ὁμάτζιον| 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7910

νὰ 'πες οὐκ ἐφάνησαν ποτὲ στὸν κόσμον   15th c., *Rim. than.* 52 ms

(11) The bare imperfect indicative is also used as a conditional, usually, though not invariably, when a co-occurring conditional clause indicates the required (hypothetical) reading; the negative is οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν.

ἐὰν μᾶς παρατρέψουν, ἐχάναμεν τὸν πόλεμον   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5368-9

ὀλίγους καλλιώτερους πύρισκες τοῦ Νεστόρου   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1451

ἂν εἶχε ζῆ ὁ Ἕκτορας ..., οὐκ ἐφοβούμεθαν νὰ

χάσωμεν ἀπ' αὐτοὺς   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 9871-2

ἂν εἶχεν τὸ ξεύρειν ὁ ἀποστολές ..., δὲν

ἀφῆνεν νὰ τοὺς πάρει   16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 32.7-8

NOTES

(i) Less commonly, the aorist indicative is also used as a conditional. Since the action described in the main clause cannot precede that of the conditional clause in real time, the aorist here can only be interpreted as denoting a hypothetical/counterfactual consequence of the fulfilment of the condition:

ἂν μόνον ἀνενδράνισες, τὸ πρόσωπον ἂν εἶδες, ἐσείσθης ὅλην σου ψυχήν, ὅλην σου τὴν καρδίαν

16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 817-18

μ' ἂν εἶχεν εἶσται κι ἄσκημος, τότες, τὴν ὥρα κείνη σὰν ἤβαλε τὸν πόθο της, πολλὰ ὄμορφος ἐγίνη

18th c./16th-17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.549-50

(ii) Conditional use of the imperfect arises from confusion of past habituality with conditionality, as also reflected in the two uses of English *would*, cf. *if ever X happened (at any times in the past/at any times in the non-past), Y would happen.* This is based on a failure to distinguish between real and relative time reference in conditional sentences and on the temporal non-specificity of both repeated/habitual and "pure" hypothetical eventualities (i.e. when not tied speculatively/counterfactually to real-world situations). Contrast the following example with those cited above:

κι ἂν ἦθε φάγω τὸ φαγί, εἰς πίκρα ἤφερνέ με κι ἂν ἦθε πιῶ καὶ τὸ πιοτόν, εἰς ζάλη γύριζέ με

17th c., PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 103-4

Here the "conditional" in the protasis has a habitual sense and the imperfect in the apodosis denotes a series of events at indefinite intervals in the past. In LMedG/EMG the "habitual" imperfect was extended to conditional use just as "conditionals" were sometimes extended to habitual use.

(iii) The conditional imperfect is used wherever other conditional forms occur, and as a consequence, though its form is necessarily invariant, it may carry both imperfective and perfective readings.

1.3   Commands and Prohibitions

(12) Commands in the second person, singular and plural, may be expressed by the imperative, present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective).

2 sg. Present Imperative

πρὸ πάντων ἔχε τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν φόβον   13th-14th c./?12th c., *Spaneas* P 1

2 pl. Present Imperative

τοίνυν ὑπάγετε καλῶς   16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 242

2 sg. Aorist Imperative

ἅπαξ τὸν πόνον ἔπαρε καὶ ἀπομερίμνησέ το   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 212

2 pl. Aorist Imperative

δεκτεῖτε καὶ ἐμένα   16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 350.20

NOTE

(i) The aspectual contrast in imperatives is between ordering repeated or continuing activity (or the inception of such activity = "start doing X") and ordering specific, complete actions. There may, however, be morphological gaps in the paradigms of particular verbs that restrict the options in specific cases.

(13) Commands may also be expressed by the modal particle νά + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; 2nd-person forms are broadly equivalent to imperatives, but 3rd-person forms are also widely used, often in legal contexts such as wills etc.

2 sg. Present Subjunctive

νὰ τὸ ἐξεύρῃς ὅτι ἡμεῖς μέλλομεν τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν

14th c., Cyprus, KODER et al. 2001: 245, 436.164–5

2 pl. Present Subjunctive

νὰ ἠξεύρετε ... ὅτι ἐγὼ τοῦ Ἄδου τὰ καταχθόνια ἀφόρισα

16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 12.2–3 (Konstantinopulos)

2 sg. Aorist Subjunctive

τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ... νὰ τὴν πέμψῃς τὸν ἀββᾶν Γεράσιμον

12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.15–16

2 pl. Aorist Subjunctive

νὰ σπουδάξετε να ἔλθετε   1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.45

3 sg. Present Subjunctive

καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία νὰ δίδῃ τὴν λύσιν   ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 33.80–1

3 pl. Present Subjunctive

ὅλα νὰ τὰ ἔχουν χωρὶς τινὸς λόγου   1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.25–6

3 sg. Aorist Subjunctive

οἷος δὲ φανῇ εἰς ἀναζήτησιν ... νὰ δώσῃ καὶ πρόστιμαν

13th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 20, 9.6–7

3 pl. Aorist Subjunctive

νὰ μὲ λαζαρώσουν ὥσπερ τοὺς ὅλους καλογέρους

ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.52

NOTES

(i) The sense of νά + subjunctive in deontic use is similar to that of the English future/conditional in related function, cf. *you, s/he, they* shall/should *do X*. But it may be hard to distinguish commands from wishes in specific cases (cf. 1.5), and in 3 sg./pl. the deontic meaning is also very close to that of ἄς + subjunctive (see Rule (15) NOTE (ii) below).

(ii) 2 pl. imperatives and 2 pl. subjunctives may be indistinguishable if traditional "subjunctive" spellings are not employed in a given text; there is therefore some indeterminacy about the relevant examples.

(iii) Periphrastic forms used to refer to the future (see 1.2.2, Rules (5) and (6)) may also be used deontically, as expected. In this case 1 sg./pl. forms of the relevant auxiliaries are used alongside those of 2nd/3rd person, though it is often difficult to distinguish expressions of obligation or necessity from assertions of future intent, cf. *I* must/will *do X*:

περάσειν ἔχω ... τὸ ποτάμι   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 1532

καὶ τοῦτο θέλει νὰ γένῃ   1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 285.5–6

σήμερο ... ἔχω ν' ἀποθάνω   17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* V.285

(14) Corresponding prohibitions are sometimes expressed with μή(ν)/μηδέν and the present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) imperative, though the aorist is exceedingly rare; prohibitions are regularly expressed by μή(ν)/μηδέν + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive, sometimes prefixed with νά.

Imperative

Present Imperative

καὶ μὴ λογίζου παρ' ἡμῶν λυπηρὸν ὑποστῆναι   13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G IV.699

τότε μὴ ζήτει φυσικῆς ἀκολουθίας τάξιν   16th c./15th c., DELLAP. *Erot. apokr.* 2986

μὴ θέλε μανθάνειν ἢ ἀκούειν   15th–16th c., *Vios Aisop.* E 288.18

ὅπου φιλεῖς μὴ δάνειζε, καὶ ὅπου ἀγαπᾷς μὴ σύχναζε   16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 13

Aorist Imperative

μὴ ... κρίνατε κρίσιν   16th c./15th c., DELLAP. *Erot. apokr.* 1120

μὴ γένε σὺ ἀνελεήμονος   16th c., *Diig. Alex.* K 365.32

NOTE

(i) Μή + aorist imperative was ungrammatical in AG and the number of possible examples in the Grammar database is very small. We may reasonably doubt whether this was ever a "normal" option in LMedG/EMG.

Bare Subjunctive

Present Subjunctive

κανεὶς μὴ σὲ κομπώνῃ   15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 45

παγαίνετε ἀπὸ τὸν τόπον μου, ἐδῶ μηδὲν ἀργῆτε

15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1418 app. crit. (A)

Aorist Subjunctive

καὶ <u>μὴ τολμήσης</u> νὰ τὸ εἰπῇς ἀνθρώπου γεννημένου   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8217

<u>μηδὲν πέψης</u> ἄτυχους καὶ <u>χάσης</u> πολλά   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 22.35–6

Νὰ μή(ν) + *Subjunctive*

Present Subjunctive

καὶ <u>νὰ μὴ φοβᾶται</u> καὶ αὐτός   17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 30.8

Aorist Subjunctive

ποσῶς <u>νὰ μὴ ἀλαζονευτῆς</u>   15th–16th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 937

NOTE

(i)   In 3 sg./pl. forms the meaning is very close to that of ἄς μή(ν) + subjunctive (see Rule (15) NOTE (ii)).

(15) Speaker-inclusive "exhortation" in 1 pl. and speaker-exclusive "encouragement" in 3rd person (normally with overtones of permission/ acquiescence) are expressed with the particle ἄς (< aorist imperative of ἀφήνω "let") + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is μή(ν), placed after the particle.

1 pl.

βουλὴ <u>ἄς ἔχωμε</u> ἀμφότεροι   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2838

ἐνταῦτα στρέμμα <u>ἄς ποιήσωμεν</u> ἀπέσω εἰς τὴν Πόλιν   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 838

<u>ἄς ποῦμεν</u> ἄλλον τίβοτας νὰ πάρω σὰν ἀέρα   16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 257

3 sg./pl.

καὶ ὁ χρήζων το <u>ἄς τὸ ἐπάρη</u> καὶ ὁ μὴ χρήζων το <u>ἄς τὸ ἀφήση</u>
    12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 312.14–15

οἷος δὲ φανῇ εἰς ἀναζήτησιν ..., <u>ἄς ἔχη</u> τὸ ἀνάθεμα
    13th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 20, 9.6–7

πάντες <u>ἄς ἔλθωσιν, ἄς φθάσωσιν, ἄς περισυναχθῶσιν</u>   15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* V 17

NOTES

(i)   The present (imperfective) subjunctive is comparatively rare in this construction, and occurs mostly with verbs that lack an aorist (perfective) stem.

(ii) In 3 sg./pl. forms the meaning of ἄς + subjunctive tends to merge with that of νὰ + subjunctive, cf. [*if X happens*], *let him do Y/he should do Y*, and consider the following example where the two types are conjoined:

<u>ἄς ἔχη</u> τὸ ἀνάθεμα καὶ <u>νὰ δώση</u> καὶ πρόστιμαν
    Pontos, 13th c., OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 20, 9.6–7

1.4   Questions and Exclamations

1.4.1   Questions

(16) Constituent questions (introduced by an expression containing an interrogative pronoun/adverb) regularly use forms of the indicative, including "future" and "conditional" periphrases, with negative οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν.

For questions containing verb forms marked with νά, see Rule (18).

The phrase containing the interrogative element normally functions as a single constituent and stands initially in its clause; the verb is often attracted, coming immediately after it (only weak object pronouns may intervene). Occasionally, however, the interrogative pronoun/adverb stands alone in initial position, leaving the remainder of the interrogative constituent in place.

Present

<u>τί θλίβεσαι</u> τοσούτως;   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4903

<u>τίντα δίκαιον ἔχει</u> ὁ ῥήγας μετά σας ...;   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 258.35–6

Past (Aorist)

<u>πῶς</u> ἡ καρδία σου <u>ἐβάσταξεν, ὑπόμεινε</u> ἡ ψυχή σου ...;   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 12227

<u>πῶς</u> μᾶς <u>ἐπαρατήθητε</u> ...;   16th c., GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 70

Future/Modal

<u>ποιά μέλλει νὰ 'χη πλερωμὴ</u> ἡ ἐδική μου ἀγάπη;
    17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* IV.178

<u>πῶς ἔχω νὰ</u> τὸ <u>χώσω;</u>   17th c., KONDAR., *Paides* 322

NOTES

(i)   Since all the future-referring periphrases also have modal readings (see Rule (5)), there is uncertainty about the interpretation of many examples.

(ii) Constituent questions may also contain various forms of conditional periphrasis, as expected (see Rule (9)), with related uncertainties of interpretation:

ἂν ἔλειπε ἡ πανιερότη σου, <u>ἴτα εἶχα</u> ἐγὼ <u>γίνει;</u>
    1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.15–16

(iii) Rhetorical questions have the same form as genuine requests for information:

ἀφότου ἔφυγεν δίχα νὰ πολεμήση ..., <u>πῶς ἠμποροῦμε</u> ἡμεῖς ... νὰ βλάψωμεν τὸν τόπον;   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 9177–81

(17) Yes/no questions also employ indicatives, including future/modal and conditional periphrases; negation with οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν forms a question that expects a positive answer; μή(ν)/μήνα ("perhaps", "by any chance") may be prefixed to a yes/no question for politeness.

For questions containing verb forms marked with νά, see Rule (18).

Positive

<u>ἤκουσές</u> το;   ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973, 59.148

<u>ἔχουν</u> μισόν;   post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 44, 38.4–5

Negative

<u>οὐ ξεύρεις</u> εἰς ἐριζικὸν κοίτεται ἡ στρατεία;   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4904

<u>οὐδὲν ἐντρέπεστε</u> ποσῶς νὰ παίζωμε ὡς κοπέλια;   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5394

+ μήν(α)

<u>μήνα 'χεις</u> τίποτες βιβλίο νέο νὰ μοῦ πουλήσης;   16th c., ZINOS, *Vatr.* Prol. 1

<u>μὴν εἶδες</u>, ἅγιε τοῦ Θεοῦ, καμία ... γυναίκα ... νὰ περάση;

17th c., MONTSEL., *Evgena* 1187–8

NOTE

(i) It is a moot point whether the verb forms used after μήν(α) should be regarded as
simple indicatives (as with SMG μήπως in this role), or as modal (as perhaps reflected
in the variant μήνα if this is indeed < μή + νὰ rather than a remodelling based on the
use of semantically related elements such as τάχα).

**(18) Questions of both kinds about the future also use νὰ + present (imperfective)
or aorist (perfective) subjunctive, with negative μή(ν) placed after the
particle; the same construction is used for deliberative/speculative questions
and the usual uncertainties of interpretation arise ("who will X?", "who is to
X?", "who can/may X?" etc.).**

The phrase containing the interrogative pronoun/adverb normally functions as a single
constituent and stands initially in its clause; the verb is often attracted, coming immediate-
ly after it (only νὰ, μή(ν) and weak object pronouns may intervene).

<u>ποῖον μαντάτον</u> νὰ <u>ὑπάγωμεν</u> τὴν ταπεινήν μας μάνα;   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 93

<u>ποῦ</u> νὰ <u>κρυβοῦν</u> τὰ κάλλη σου ... καὶ <u>πότε</u> ... <u>νὰ</u> σὲ <u>δῶ</u>, <u>πότε</u> <u>νὰ</u> σὲ <u>συντύχω</u>, <u>πότε</u>
... <u>νὰ</u> <u>φιλήσω</u> τὰ ἐρωτικά σου κάλλη;   15th c., *Achil.* L 1307–9

<u>ἴντα βουλὴ</u> νὰ <u>κάμωμε</u>, <u>τί στράτα</u> νὰ <u>κρατοῦμε</u> ...;   16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 10a

ἂν πάθης ἐσὺ τίποτες, <u>τίς</u> νὰ μὲ <u>παρηγορήση</u>;

16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 26.15 (Konstantinopulos)

<u>νὰ εἶναι</u> οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐτοῦτοι θεοί;   16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 40.4–6 (Konstantinopulos)

τοῦτοι ... τάχα <u>νὰ εἶναι</u> ἄνθρωποι;   16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 111.36–7

NOTE

(i) Various forms of conditional may also be used in deliberative/speculative questions
about the past, present or future, again with the usual uncertainties of interpretation:

τὰ σκεύη τὰ πανάγια καὶ <u>ποῦ</u> νὰ <u>κατάντησαν</u>;   15th c., *Anak. Konst.* 1–11

<u>ποιὸν</u> νὰ <u>εἶχε πιάση</u> καὶ ὁ ἀγᾶς; <u>ποιὸν</u> νὰ <u>ἤθελε φονέψη</u>;

17th c., BOUBOULIS, *Limbon.* 423

1.4.2   Exclamations

**(19) Interrogative pronouns/adverbs may be used with adjectives and adverbs to
form exclamations; the verb is indicative if one is present.**

<u>τί φοβερὸς</u> ὁ τόπος ἐτοῦτος| 16th c., *Pent.* Gen. 28.17

<u>ἴντα κανίσκιν ἄσκημο</u> μ' ἔχεις κανισκεμένη| 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* V.398

<u>πόσον καλὰ</u> ὁποὺ ἔκαμεν ὁ πατέρας σου| 17th c., *Bertoldin.* 129.1–2

NOTE

(i) Other forms of exclamation include the following:

νὰ + subjunctive:

<u>νὰ λέουν</u> ὁκάποιος φτωχὸς ... <u>ἐνίκησεν</u> τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν ἀδελφὸν ... !

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5008–9

"to have people say that some pauper defeated the king's brother!"

καλά "well" (used ironically) followed by a clause introduced by the "factive"
complementizer ποὺ (see 2.1, Rule (24)):

<u>καλὰ ποὺ</u> τίς γνωρίζω| 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* I.93

1.5   Wishes

**(20) Wishes for the future use νὰ + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective)
subjunctive; the negative is μή(ν) placed after the particle. Since this
construction also has a wide range of future/modal readings (see Rules (7),
(13), (14)), ἄμποτε(ς) or μακάρι(ον) may be prefixed for clarity.**

1 sg.	<u>νὰ μηδὲ</u> τῆς μητέρας μου εὐχὴν <u>κληρονομήσω</u>	15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 907
2 sg.	βίον εἰρηνικὸν <u>νὰ ζήσης</u>, <u>νὰ περάσης</u>	17th c., PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O Prol. 5
3 sg.	καὶ ὅστις εὑρέθη ἐμποδίζειν ... <u>νὰ ἔχη</u> τὸ ἀνάθεμα παρὰ πατρὸς υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος	1146, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 5, 619.4–6

κακὸν <u>νὰ μὴ</u> σᾶς <u>ἔλθη</u>   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1440

ἡ γευχὴ τσῆ πανιερότη σου <u>νὰ</u> μ' <u>ἀξιώση</u> νὰ ἔρθω

1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 5, 173.21–2

3 pl.	Κύριε Θεέ, ... θηρία <u>νὰ</u> μὲ <u>διαμοιραστοῦν</u>	15th c./?12th c., *Dig* E 902–4

+ ἄμποτε

2 sg.	<u>ἄμποτε</u> ... <u>νὰ πάρης</u> καλορριζικίαν, <u>ἄμποτε</u> καὶ τοῦ στέμματος <u>νὰ γένης</u> κληρονόμος, <u>νὰ μηδὲ πάρης</u> θάνατον	15th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 238–43
3 sg.	<u>ἄμποτε νὰ παρακληθῆ</u>	15th c./?12th c., *Dig* E 1353

all pl.   ἂμποτε νὰ γράψω, νὰ γράψοις, νὰ γράψοι· ἂμποτε νὰ γράψωμεν, νὰ
          γράψαιτε, νὰ γράψουν   16th c., SOFIANOS, *Grammar* 55.16–17

+ μακάρι

2 sg.   μαγάρι νὰ 'βρῆς στράτα   17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* IV.214

3 sg.   μακάρι μὴ λουρδίζεται μετὰ [δισ]σὰ ματίτσια
                                          13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 241

          μακάρι μὴ νοήσῃ   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 420

          μαγάρι ἐδὰ νὰ τὸ συβαστῆ, μαγάρι νὰ τὸ θέλῃ, μαγάρι ἐσένα … γυναίκα νὰ
          σοῦ μέλλῃ   18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* V.227–8

NOTES

(i)   The negative μή(ν) may sometimes be used without a preceding νά, as in the examples
      with μακάρι above and often also in 1 sg./pl. wishes, where the "strong" negative
      οὐ μή(ν) can be employed; since οὐ μή(ν) is also used in strong denials (cf. Rule (7)
      NOTE (iii)), the reader must be alert to the requirements of the context:

      καὶ οὐ μὴ μεμφθῶ τέως εἰς τοῦτο παρὰ τῆς
            ἁγιωσύνης σου   12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 312.4–5

      καὶ οὐ μὴ χαρῶ τὴν περισσὴν ἀγάπην ἐδική σου   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 908

      μαντᾶτον οὐ μὴ μάθωμεν, ὅταν σᾶς θέλουν σφάξει   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1441

      φύγε ἀπὸ τὰ ὀμμάτια μου καὶ μὴν σὲ
            ἰδῶ πλέον   17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 37.21–3

(ii) The aorist (perfective) subjunctive is far more common in wishes than the present
      (imperfective) subjunctive, which occurs regularly only with verbs that lack an aorist
      stem or at least make little use of their aorist stem.

(iii) Given the semantic overlaps (cf. Rule (15) NOTE (ii)), ἄς sometimes appears in place
      of νά, though it is often impossible to discriminate between a wish and an expression
      of permission/encouragement:

      ἄς γένεται κατάθεσις μὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν φόβον   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7921

**(21) Less hopeful wishes for the future and counterfactual wishes for the present
      and past use νά + the imperfect/aorist indicative (see Rule (10)) or νά + one
      of the infinitival conditional periphrases (see Rule (9)). The negative is μή(ν),
      and the particle νά may be omitted when the negative is present; once again,
      ἂμποτε(ς) or μακάρι(ον) may be prefixed.**

νά + Past Indicative

imperf. 1 sg.   νὰ 'ξευρα πιὸν τὴν σωτηριάν   16th c./?15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 100.31

imperf. 2 sg.   σ' τούτους τοὺς γάμους νὰ 'σου, νὰ θώρειες τὰ παλάτια σου, νὰ
                'βλέπες τὰ παιδιά σου   17th c., TROILOS, *Rodol.* IV.83–4

imperf. 3 sg.   νὰ ἤσουν πούπετες   17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1531

imperf. 3 pl.   νὰ γιαγέρνασι οἱ χρόν' οἱ περασμένοι
                                          17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* I.255

aor. 1 sg.   σήμερον νὰ ἀπόθανα   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 159

aor. 3 sg.   ὁ Θεὸς μὴ τὸ ἔποικεν!   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5368

                καὶ ὁ Κύριος νὰ ἀφῆκε ζωὴ του χρόνους πολλούς
                                          1383, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 89, 98.1–4

                νὰ μοῦ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐτουτηνὰν τὴν χάριν   15th c., *Peri xen.* 237

νά + Conditional Periphrasis

2 sg.   νὰ 'χες μ' ἀφήσειν πάντα κοιμισμένοι   16th c./?15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 12.11

        νὰ ἤθελες ἐβλέπη τόσα κακὰ ποῦ κάμνουσιν … τότε νὰ ἤθελες ἰδεῖ, νὰ
        ἤθελες πιστεύσῃ, τοὺς ἄτυχους ἤθελες ἐξολοθρεύσῃ
                                          17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1531–4

3 sg.   νὰ 'χεν ἀστράψει ὁ οὐρανός, νὰ 'χε καγῆν ἡ ὥρα ὅταν ἐμένα ἐγέννησεν ἡ
        ταπεινή μου μάνα   15th c., *Peri xen.* 186–7

        νὰ 'χεν βρεθῆν κακὸν θεργιόν, ἐκεῖνον νὰ 'χεν φάγειν
                                          17th–18th c./17th c., KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 70

+ ἂμποτε

1 pl.   ἂμποτε νὰ ἀξιώθημεν καὶ ἡμεῖς νὰ ἐπηγαίναμεν ἐκεῖ … καὶ νὰ ζώσαμεν
        ἐκείνην τὴν μακαρίαν ζωήν … καὶ νὰ ἐβλέπαμεν ἐκεῖνο τὸ φῶς
                                          16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 106.31–8

+ μακάρι(ον)

2 sg.   μακάριον τε τὸ χάλασες, νὰ τὸ 'χες ἀφανίσει   16th c./15th c., *Deft. Par.* 271

        μαγάρι καὶ πρωτύτερας νὰ 'θελες μοῦ γρικήσει
                                          17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* II.319

NOTES

(i)   These wishes all take the form of conditional protases where the εἶχα + infinitive
      periphrasis found a natural home (see 3.3), thus making it the preferred option when
      an infinitival periphrasis is employed.

(ii) Once again, ἄς may sometimes be substituted for νά:

      ἄς εἶχα μάτια σκοτεινά … καὶ ἄς εἶχα σιδερὴ καρδιά
                                          17th c./16th–17th c., *Thysia Avr.* 209–10

2 Complement Clauses

Subordinate clauses may function either as complements (elements whose presence is required by the main verb) or as adjuncts (modifying adverbial or adjectival elements whose presence is optional, see Chapter 3), and may be marked as such in various ways (e.g. through the use of a particular conjunction, mood or verb form). This chapter deals with clauses that complement various verb classes.

2.1 Verbs of "Reporting" and "Declaring"

(22) After verbs that report a speech, emotional response or perception, declare a belief or attest to knowledge (e.g. "say", "announce", "rejoice", "hear", "see", "think", "believe", "learn", "know" etc.) the regular form of sentential complementation in LMedG/EMG is a finite clause introduced by the complementizers ὅτι or πώς (in early or more learned texts sometimes also ὡς).

Such clauses normally contain either a past- or present-tense form of the indicative, or a future-referring or conditional verb form.

The tense of the "original" direct speech may always be retained, but the time reference of the verb in a complement clause may optionally be aligned to that of a past-tense main verb (*consecutio temporum* or "sequence of tenses").

The tense of the verb in the complement clause is given before each set of examples below.

Non-past Main Verb
Future

θαρροῦμεν ὡς ἵνα ἔλθῃ ὁ αὐτὸς κὺρ Μιχαὴλ

14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 147.4

Present

ἠξεύρετε ὅτι οἱ φρερήδες ... εὑρίσκουνται ἔσσω τοῦ ἀφέντη|

16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 4.10–11

ἤξευρε πῶς ἐγὼ ὀνομάζομαι ὁ δὸν Κισότης τῆς Μαντσίας   18th c., *Don Kis.* 51.12–13

Aorist

γίνωσκε ... ὅτι οὐκ ἐγένετο ποτὲ δοῦλος πολλῶν κυρίων

15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 14–15

ὁμολογῶ ... πῶς ἐπῆρε καὶ ἐπαράλαβε ... ὑπέρπυρα ὀκτὼ

1623, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1998: 6, 312.1–2

Tense of Original Retained after Past-Tense Main Verb
Future

εἶπαν ... ὅτι νὰ πᾶσιν ... εἰς τὴν αὐλήν τῆς ρήγαινας καὶ νὰ σκοτώσουν τὸν κοντοστάβλην   16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 56.15–17

ἐθιόρκισέν τον ὅτι νὰ μὲν θελήσει ποττὲ νὰ ποίσει τίτοιον κακόν

16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 34.6–7

ἐθαρροῦσεν ὁ ἀρχιμανδρίτης πῶς ... νὰ μᾶς φοβερίσει

1709, Chios, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 34, 137.127–9

Present

ἐχαίρετο ὅτι εἶν' ἔμορφος, μετὰ τῆς ποθητῆς του   15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 596

ἐγροίκησε ὅτι ἔχει τὴ χάρην αὐτή   16th c., *Nov. II* 161.12

Aorist

καὶ εἶπαν του πῶς ὁ Θούμας ἐπέψεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους

16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 4.17

Conditional

ἐμάθαμεν πῶς τὸ ... καράβι νὰ ἐπνίηκεν καὶ εἴχαμεν φορτώσει εἰς αὐτὸ μαλλιὰ ..., καὶ ὕστερα ἀκούσαμε πῶς νὰ ἔβγαλαν τὰ πράγματα ὅλα

1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 17, 217.6–9

ὁ δεύτερος συγγραφεὺς δὲν ἐπίστευσε πῶς νὰ μὴν ἐπερίγραψαν ... τοιαύτην περίεργον ἱστορίαν   18th c., *Don Kis.* 53.12–14

Tense of Original Backshifted after Past-Tense Main Verb (consecutio temporum)
Aorist > Pluperfect

ηὕρασιν ὅτι εἶχαν πλέον κερδίσει   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 650

Present > Imperfect

ἔδειχνεν ὅτι αὔξαινε ὁ σπόρος του τὴν νύκταν

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 334.41–2

ἐγράψασί μου ... πῶς ἐθαρροῦσεν ὁ ἀρχιμανδρίτης

1709, Chios, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 34, 137.127–9

NOTES

(i) As expected, the meaning of verb forms marked with νὰ in a ὅτι/πῶς clause is often indeterminate between simple future "will/would" and modal "may/might", "can/could", "shall/should" (see 1.2.2).

(ii) With frequently occurring verbs, and particularly with λέ(γ)ω, the complementizer may be omitted:

νὰ λέουν ὁκάποιος φτωχὸς ... ἐνίκησεν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν ἀδελφὸν ...

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5008–9

φαίνεταί τον στὸ σπίτιν του εὑρίσκεται ἀπέσω   15th c., *Peri xen.* 34

καὶ εἶπεν, κερδαίνει τὴν ἀραβῶνα   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 86.2–3

καὶ αὐταὶ <u>λέγουν</u> θὲ <u>νὰ ὑποκλιθοῦν</u> εἰς τὸ κοινόβιον

<div align="right">1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.56–7</div>

(iii) Occasionally in negated future complements the expected νά is absent (cf. Chapter 1, Rules (14) and (20) plus NOTES for similar omissions in negative prohibitions and wishes):

<u>μηνοῦμε</u> σας <u>ὅτι</u> ... <u>μηδὲν σουφριάσετε</u> κανένα μας ὀφισιάλην

<div align="right">1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 7, 7.1–2</div>

(23) It is common in later LMedG and EMG (ca. 15th c. onwards) for an ὅτι/πώς complement to be replaced by an indicative clause conjoined with καί.

This may represent an extension of the semantically natural use of conjoined clauses with control verbs in order to emphasize the actual occurrence of an otherwise merely potential consequence of the action of the main verb (for which see Rule (26)).

But there is no inherent consequentiality in ὅτι/πώς complements and this type is perhaps better understood as involving omission of the complementizer (cf. Rule (22) NOTE (ii)) with partial grammaticalization of intensifying καί "actually": cf. μηδὲ <u>θαρρῆς πώς</u> ... <u>κι'</u> ἤμουνα κοιμισμένη, "don't think I was actually asleep", CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* II.161–2.

<u>ἀθθυμοῦμαι</u> τὸν βισκούντην, τὸν πράχτοραν και τὰ δελοιπὰ 'φίκκια <u>καὶ δὲν τ'</u>
<u>ἀλλάξαν ποττέ</u>   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 78.27–8

δὲ θέλειν τὸ <u>προβιάσειν</u> ποττὲ τινὰς <u>καὶ ἐγυρέψα</u> νὰ ποίσω τιτοῖον πρᾶμα

<div align="right">16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 60.19</div>

<u>δὲν λέγω</u> <u>καὶ κλινίσκει</u> σας ἡ πεῖνα τῶν θεϊκῶν λογί(ων)   16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 11–12

<u>ηὖρε</u> <u>καὶ ἤτονε γεννημένος</u> ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός

<div align="right">16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.23</div>

NOTES

(i) In the vast majority of cases the subject of the subordinate clause is referentially distinct from that of the main clause.

(ii) In later texts this construction is particularly frequent with "factive" verbs of perception or discovery (see Rules (24) and (28)):

ψηλαφώντας την <u>ἡβλέπει</u> <u>καὶ ἔναι</u> παρθένος ὥσπερ ἦτον

<div align="right">16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.35–6</div>

<u>τὸ</u> (παιδί) <u>ηὖρανε</u> <u>καὶ ἐπροφήτευσεν</u> πολλὰ μέλλοντα πράγματα

<div align="right">16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.17–18</div>

τὴν <u>εἶδα</u> ὀψὲς <u>κι' ἐθώρειε</u> σε   17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* II.93

ἐὰν <u>δῆ καὶ ἐξετάση καὶ εἶναι</u> ἔτζι ἡ ἀλήθεια

<div align="right">1661, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1974/78: 4, 423.12</div>

(24) Verbs of knowledge, perception and emotional response (e.g. "know, "learn", "see", "hear", "be ashamed", "rejoice", "regret" etc.) are "factive" verbs that presuppose the speaker's/writer's belief in the truth of their complements. In EMG factivity may be marked by the use of the complementizer (ὁ)πού.

With perception verbs factivity is dependent on direct as opposed to indirect perception, contrast *X heard Y happening* with *X heard that Y was happening*.

<u>θυμάστεν</u> <u>πού</u> δειλιάζετε σὲ πόλεμον νὰ βγῆτε;   16th c., *Alex.* Rim. 1759

<u>ἠξεύρετε</u> <u>ὁπού</u> τὸ ἔχει ὁ κόσμος καὶ οἱ ἐδικοί του συνήθεια

<div align="right">16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 105.24</div>

καὶ <u>συπάθησέ</u> μου το <u>πού</u> σοῦ τὸ γραφω   1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 5, 173. 21

<u>εἶδα</u> την <u>πού</u> καθότουνε καὶ τὴν Εὐγένα ἐκράτει   17th c., MONTSEL., *Evgena* 190

<u>τό 'χω</u> μεγάλο παράπονο <u>ὅπου</u> οἱ ἄλλοι πραγματευτάδες ἔλαβαν γραφὴν ἀπὸ
τοὺς Κοθωναίους   1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 19, 218.3–4

<u>ἠξεύρετε</u> καλὰ <u>ὁπού</u> ἐγυρίσαμεν ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην   18th c./17th c., *Alex.* Fyll. 114.29

NOTE

(i) Verbs of perception and emotional response are also used as control verbs, see Rule (28).

2.2   Control Predicates

(25) Verbs meaning "want", "try", "dare", "ask", "allow", "expect", "order", "make" etc. require complements denoting prospective/potential activities. In LMedG the complement may take the form of a bare infinitive, either present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective). Negation is of the main verb.

The subject of the infinitive is obligatorily "missing" and its content is "controlled" by the subject or, if the verb is transitive, the object of the main verb; i.e. the reference, grammatical case, person, number and gender of the main-clause subject/object are automatically adopted by the missing subject and some of these features may be visible if there is an agreeing subject complement.

πολλὰ πολλὰ <u>ἀγαπῶ</u> διὰ πράξεως <u>λαλεῖν</u> τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον

<div align="right">12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 31 814.1–2</div>

τίς τῆς καρδιᾶς του τὴν χαρὰν νὰ <u>ἰσχύση καταλέξειν</u>;

<div align="right">?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.7v.3–4</div>

πῶς τὸν παρακαλοῦσιν ... νὰ <u>καταδέξεται γενεῖ</u> εἰς αὔτους <u>καπετάνος</u>

<div align="right">14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 233–6</div>

εἴτις δὲ <u>βουληθῆ κατελῦσαι</u> τὸ παρὸν γράμμαν, νὰ ἔνι ἀσυγχώρητος

<div align="right">14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.14–15</div>

τὸ ὡραιόκαρπον ... δένδρον τὸ ὑψηλότατον ὁπού <u>σᾶς εἶπε φεύγειν</u>

<div align="right">15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 69–70</div>

NOTES

(i) The overwhelming majority of infinitival examples in the database involve subject control.

(ii) By the later medieval period the set of verbs of this class taking an infinitival complement is greatly reduced, essentially to verbs expressing "wish" or "desire":

εἴτις δὲ <u>βουληθῇ καταλῦσαι</u> τὸ παρὸν γράμμαν, νὰ ἔνι ἀσυγχώρητος

<div align="right">14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.14–15</div>

οὔτε <u>βουλόμεθα ἀναδέξασθαι</u> πλέον γουμάριν

<div align="right">1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: [α'], 292.18–19</div>

καὶ ἂν <u>τὸν θέλῃς ἀγαπᾷ</u>, φρόντιζε τὴν ψυχή σου

<div align="right">17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2015</div>

(iii) Occasionally, the infinitival complement is nominalized with the genitive of the definite article (τοῦ). This may represent an extension of the ancient use of the genitive articular infinitive to express purpose, itself an extension of the original adnominal use after nouns expressing "wish", "desire" etc.:

<u>παρακαλῶ τὴν κόρτην</u> ... <u>τοῦ κατελθῆναι</u> ἐπάνω εἰς τὸν τόπον καὶ μαθεῖν τὴν
    ἀλήθειαν <div align="right">1224, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 30, 447.5–7</div>

οἷος γοῦν <u>βουλεθῇ τοῦ ἀνατρέψαι</u> αὐτούς

<div align="right">?1358, ?Macedonia, LEMERLE 1988: App. II C, 231.11</div>

εἰ <u>θέλετε τοῦ ζῆν</u>, φύγετε, μὴν σταθῆτε   16th c./14th c., *Synax. gadar.* 41

ηὗρα δεντρὸν ἐξαίρετον καὶ <u>ὠρέχθην τοῦ πεζεύσειν</u>

<div align="right">16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 20</div>

(26) More usually, LMedG/EMG employs finite clauses containing νά + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive (negative μή(ν)) to complement "control" verbs, and this has become the norm in the later medieval period.

Since such clauses lack an overt complementizer, the particle–verb combination typically follows the governing verb directly in order to mark its connection.

The meaning of some main verbs may allow for non-coreferential subjects in the finite subordinate clause: contrast *X persuaded Y that Z should do something* with *X persuaded Y that s/he (= Y) should do something*.

When the subject is coreferential it is omitted but agrees with its controller in person, number and gender, as shown by verbal agreement and (if present) subject complements.

<u>ἐπρόσταξα καὶ προστάσσω</u> πρὸς σὲ ... <u>ἵνα μὴ ἔχῃς</u> ἐξουσίαν εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην
    μονήν <div align="right">1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16</div>

<u>οὐκ ἤθελαν ν' ἀφήσουσιν</u> τοὺς Φράγκους <u>νὰ ἀπεράσουν</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 409

εἰς τρία ἀλλάγια <u>τοὺς ἔποικεν νὰ εἶναι χωρισμένοι</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5679

ἦλθε καιρὸς ... νὰ <u>παρακαλέσουσιν</u> ... <u>τὴν κυρίαν, νὰ δεηθῇ πρὸς κύριον</u> τοῦ νὰ
    μᾶς δώσῃ νῖκος <div align="right">16th c./15th c., *Alosis* 288–95</div>

ἀλλὰ <u>δὲν τὸν εἶπε</u> ποτὲ ὁ λογισμός του <u>νὰ γένῃ κακὸς ἄνθρωπος</u>

<div align="right">16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 105.2–3</div>

τὸ χάρισμα ὁπό 'χω 'γὼ <u>δὲ θέλω νὰ</u> τὸ <u>κρύψω</u>, ζῶντα μου <u>θέλω</u> κανενὸς <u>νὰ</u> τοῦ τ'
    <u>ἀποκαλύψω</u> <div align="right">16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 276B</div>

καὶ <u>τοὺς ἔβαλε νὰ κόψουνε</u> ἀτοί τους τὰ παιδία τους

<div align="right">17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.8</div>

οἱ ἱερεῖς <u>δὲν ξεύρουσι</u> τὰ βρέφη <u>νὰ βαπτίσουν</u>

<div align="right">17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2201</div>

<u>λέγοντάς μου ἵνα τοῦ ποιήσων</u> τὴν μπαροῦσαν κοντραντιτζιόν

<div align="right">1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.1–2</div>

NOTES

(i) If the meaning of the main verb permits, the νά-clause may also contain a past indicative:

ἂν <u>ἤθελα</u> λεπτῶς <u>νὰ</u> σὲ τὰ <u>ἔγραψα</u> ὅλα ... πολλὰ <u>ἤθελαν</u> βαρεθῆ ἐκεῖνοι ὅπου τὸ
<u>ἀκοῦσιν</u> <div align="right">14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2816–18</div>

    "if I were to have written it all in detail for you, my listeners would be very bored"

(ii) The lack of an overt complementizer in νά-clauses may be "remedied" in a number of ways, often (though not exclusively) when there is a gap between the main verb and its complement:

    (a) with ὅτι/πώς (as with verbs of "reporting" etc., see Rule (22))
    (b) with διά/γιά (otherwise used with νά in final clauses, see 3.1)
    (c) with τοῦ (as used with infinitives, see Rule (25) NOTE (iii))

With ὅτι/πώς

αὐτὸς ὁ σκύλος ... <u>δὲν ἤθελεν πὼς νὰ</u> τὸν <u>προσκυνήσει</u>

<div align="right">16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 339.9–10</div>

<u>ἐπαρακάλεσεν</u> ... τὸν πατριάρχην ... <u>ὅτι νὰ κάμουν</u> δέησιν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν

<div align="right">16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 415.7–9</div>

<u>δίδει ἀουτοριτὰν</u> ... <u>ὅτι νὰ ἠμπορῇ</u> νὰ τήνε ντεφεντέρῃ

<div align="right">1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.4–7</div>

With διά/γιά

<u>ἤθελα διὰ νὰ</u> τὸν <u>ἐρωτήσω</u> τίς ἔναι καὶ πόθεν ἔνι ὁ ἄνθρωπος

<div align="right">15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 18–19</div>

<u>εἶπε διὰ ν' ἀρχίσουν</u> οἱ σάλπιγγες γιὰ νὰ λαλοῦν   16th c., *Alex.* Rim. 845–6

<u>τάσσει</u> ... νὰ <u>κάμῃ τὸ Γιάννη Τουρκογιάννη</u> ... <u>γιὰ νὰ σπείρου</u> ὁμάδι ... τὰ
<u>χωράφια</u> <div align="right">1611, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 729, 632.10–11</div>

With τοῦ

<u>οὐδὲν ἀφῆναν</u> γὰρ <u>ἐσᾶς</u> ... <u>τοῦ νὰ κρατῆτε</u> ἐδῶ προνοῖες

<div align="right">14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2695–6</div>

<u>ὄρεξιν εἶχε</u> πάμπολλην <u>τοῦ νὰ περιπατήσῃ</u>   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 81

(27) A νά-complement is often replaced by a clause with an indicative verb apparently conjoined with καί.

This may once again involve omission of the complementizer and partial grammaticaliza-tion of intensifying καί (cf. Rule (23)). But here the consequential relationship between the action of the main verb and that of the complement allows naturally for conjunction,

especially when there is emphasis on the actual occurrence of an otherwise merely project-ed/anticipated consequence: contrast *X commanded and Y (actually) carried out the order* with *X commanded Y to carry out the order*.

ὁ Θεὸς <u>ἐπρόσταξεν καὶ ἦλθε</u> τοῦ ρόϊ Κάρλου ἡ ἀφεντία

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 6279–80

<u>ὥρισεν καὶ ἦλθασιν</u> οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς βουλῆς του   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7828

εἰπέτε τί σᾶς <u>ἔκαμα καὶ εἴστεν</u> λυπημένοι   16th c., *Alex.* Rim. 1752

<u>ἔβαλα</u> τὸν ἄνωθεν παπὰ <u>καὶ ἔγραψεν</u> μὲ τὴν ἴδιαν του χέρα

1612, Crete, Bakker/Van Gemert 1987: 779, 677–8.61

NOTES

(i) As with instances of καί replacing ὅτι/πώς (see Rule (23)), the vast majority of examples have non-coreferential subjects in the main and subordinate clauses (i.e. the substitution normally involves examples that would otherwise exhibit object control).

(ii) Very occasionally the indicative follows asyndetically:

τοὺς Βενετίκους <u>ἄφησαν</u> τὴν θάλασσαν <u>φυλάττουν</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 640

<u>ὥρισε ἠφέρασιν</u> τὸ ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7929

(28) Factive verbs (cf. rule (24)) meaning "see", "hear", "sense", "find" etc. may also function as control verbs taking a νά-complement.

The subjunctive is normally present (imperfective), marking the ongoing nature of the activity perceived. But an aorist (perfective) subjunctive may be used when the sense requires it: contrast *X heard Y do Z* (potentially perfective) with *X heard Y doing Z*.

Present Subjunctive

κι ἂν <u>εὕρωμεν</u> τὸν βασιλέα εἰς κάμπον <u>ν' ἀναμένῃ</u>, ... τὸν θέλομεν πολεμήσει

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3650–1

καὶ τώρα <u>βλέπουν</u> σε γυμνὴ <u>νὰ εἶσαι τροπιασμένη</u>   16th c., Defar., *Sos.* 222 (Holton)

Aorist Subjunctive

εἶχεν μέγαν διλίτιν νὰ τοῦ <u>γροικήσῃ νὰ τραγουδήσῃ</u>

16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 109.4–5

<u>εἴδαμε</u> στὴ χώρα μας Πέρσοι <u>νὰ μποῦσι</u> τόσοι   17th c., Troilos, *Rodol.* V.156

NOTES

(i) As with other control verbs (cf. Rule (27)), the νά-complement may be replaced with an indicative clause conjoined with καί:

νεκρὸν <u>εἶδα κ' ἐκεῖτετον</u>   16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 23

<u>εἶδαν</u> τὸν Δημήτριον ζωντανὸν <u>καὶ ἐκάθετον</u>

16th c., Papa-Lavr., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 106.14–15

τὴν <u>εἶδα</u> ὀψὲς <u>κι' ἐθώρειε</u> σε   17th c./16th c., Chortatsis, *Katz.* II.94

τὸν <u>εἶδε καὶ ἐπέρνα</u>, τὸν ἐπαρακάλεσε νὰ μὴν τὸν ἀπαντονάρη

17th c., Venetzas, *Varl. & Ioas.* 39.34–5

(ii) In LMedG factive verbs of emotional response such as "be ashamed" may also take νά-complements (though none of the examples in the database involve coreferential subjects):

οὐκ <u>αἰσχύνεσαι</u> ... <u>νὰ γαμῇ</u> τὸ μουνίν σου παπᾶς;

14th c./12th c., Tzetzes, *Epil. Theogon.* 21

οὐδὲν <u>ἐντρέπεστε</u> ποσῶς <u>νὰ παίζωμε</u> ὡς κοπέλια;   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5394

(29) Modal verbs (expressing "ability/possibility" or "necessity") and verbs of aspectual specification ("start/continue/stop" [doing X]) are complemented either by bare infinitives or, beginning in the 14th c., by νά-clauses.

These verbs all *modify* the activities denoted by their complements rather than denoting distinct actions in their own right.

Modal verbs may be personal or impersonal, aspectual verbs are personal; in personal use all these verbs involve subject control.

Νά is normally followed by a subjunctive, but modals may also take νά + a past-tense indicative when the situation described is hypothetical/counterfactual.

Aspectual verbs take an imperfective verb form in their complement because the modified activity is necessarily viewed imperfectively, i.e. is never bounded by both a beginning and an end to form a complete whole (as required for an aorist/perfective to be used).

Modal Verbs

Ability/Possibility + Infinitive

καὶ ψηλαφῶντες ἀκριβῶς <u>οὐκ ἠμποροῦν</u> τὴν <u>εὕρειν</u>   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 124

τὸ κάλλιον καὶ διαφορικόν, ὅπου <u>ἔχομεν ποιήσει</u>, ἔνι γὰρ νὰ ἀπέλθωμεν

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3647–8

ἄλλα πλεῖστα πράγματα τὰ <u>οὐκ ἠμπορῶ</u> σᾶς <u>γράψει</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7802

εἰ <u>ἠμπορέσῃ, δυνηθῇ</u> συμπεθερίαν <u>ποιήσει</u> ... νὰ ἐπάρῃ ὁ υἱός γὰρ τοῦ ρηγὸς τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκείνου   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 6285–7

κανεὶς <u>οὐδὲν ἐμπόρειεν ἀναδεῖξαι</u> τὴν εὐμορφίαν τοῦ παραδείσου

15th c., *Hist. Imp.* I 82–3

Necessity + Infinitive

<u>οὐ</u> γὰρ <u>εἶν ἀνάγκη</u> ... περὶ πίστεως <u>δογματίζειν</u>   12th c./11th c., Nikon, *Logos* 9 312.23

ἀλλὰ πρότερον <u>ὀφείλομεν τρέχειν</u>   ca. 1300, Cyprus, Maruhn 1981: 244.609

ὁ λίζιος ἄνθρωπος <u>χρεωστεῖ ποιῆσαι</u> τοῦτο   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7571

NOTE

(i) Infinitival complements may sometimes be nominalized with the genitive of the definite article, as with other control verbs (see Rule (25) NOTE (iii)):

δὲν <u>ἠμπορῶ τοῦ γράφειν</u>   15th c., *Peri xen.* 356

πῶς καὶ πότε ἠφάνισεν <u>ἐξαπορῶ τοῦ γράφει</u>   16th c./15th c., Bergadis, *Apok.* V 14

Ability/Possibility + νά-clause

οὐκ εἶχεν γάρ <u>νὰ μάχεται</u> μὲ ἄνθρωπον τοῦ κόσμου   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3144

ἀλλὰ ποσῶς <u>οὐκ ἐμπορεῖ</u> ἵνα τοὺς <u>περικόψῃ</u>   15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 660

ἐμήνυσεν ... πῶς <u>νὰ μπορήσῃ</u> <u>ν' ἀφεντεύσῃ</u> τὸν λαόν
                                    16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.21–2

τοὺς ποίους <u>δὲν εἶναι νὰ</u> τοὺς <u>ἀνοματίσω</u>   16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 50.13–14

<u>νὰ</u> τονὲ <u>διώξου</u> <u>μπορετὸ δὲν εἶναι</u> τῶν ἀθρώπω   17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* I.198

τώρα <u>μπορᾶ</u> (< μπορεῖ νά) <u>καυχοῦμαι</u>   17th c., BOUNIALIS M., *Diig. Pol.* 577.25

Necessity + νά-clause

<u>ἔπρεπε</u> σὲ τὸ πρόβατον <u>νὰ μὴ</u> μᾶς <u>λοιδορήσῃς</u>   15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 458

<u>ἔπρεπέ</u> τον <u>νὰ</u> 'φόρεσε μαντὶ καὶ καμηλαύχι   16th c., *Kakop.* 127

Verbs of Aspectual Specification
+ Infinitive

<u>ἄρχασεν</u> οὕτως <u>λέγει</u> του   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 233

<u>ἀφίνω</u> ἐδῶ <u>λέγειν</u> καὶ <u>ἀφηγᾶσται</u> διὰ τὸν Γουλιάμον πρίγκιπα
                                    14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5922–3

ὁ ρῆγας <u>ἄρξετον</u> <u>λαλεῖ</u> τῆς ρήγαινας   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7118

NOTE

(i)   The infinitive may occasionally be nominalized with the definite article, either accusative τό or genitive τοῦ (cf. Modal verbs NOTE (i) above):

καὶ <u>ἤρξαντο</u> <u>τοῦ παίζειν</u>   16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 180

πουρνὸν <u>τὸ τρέχειν</u> <u>ἤρχισα</u>   16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 11

προυνὸν <u>τοῦ τρέχειν</u> <u>ἤρχισα</u>   16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 11

λοιπὸν <u>τὸ τρέχειν</u> <u>ἔπαυσα</u> ... καὶ τὸ σπουδάζειν
                                    16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 15

+ νά-clause

ὁ ρῆγας <u>ἄρξετον</u> <u>λαλεῖ</u> τῆς ρήγαινας <u>νὰ λέγῃ</u>, τοῦ νὰ ἐπαινῇ τὸν πρίγκιπα
                                    14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7118–19

<u>παύομαι</u> ἐδῶ <u>νὰ λέγω</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7955

<u>ἀρχίζοντας</u> <u>νὰ βουλᾶ</u>   17th c., KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 14.30

NOTES

(i)   As with other control verbs (see Rule (26) NOTE (i)) the absence of a complementizer in the νά-clause is sometimes "remedied" (often after a gap), in this case with διά/γιά or τοῦ:

ἐξηγήθην ... πῶς <u>ἄρχισεν</u> τὰ ἐπάσχισεν <u>τοῦ νὰ</u> μὲ <u>ἀφηγᾶται</u>
                                    15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 3778–80

εἶπε διὰ ν' <u>ἀρχίσουν</u> οἱ σάλπιγγες <u>γιὰ νὰ λαλοῦν</u>, <u>διὰ νὰ πολεμήσουν</u>
                                    16th c., *Alex.* Rim. 845–6

(ii) As with other control verbs (see Rule (27)), a νά-clause after verbs meaning "begin" is often replaced by an indicative clause conjoined with καί:

<u>ἀρχίσαν</u> <u>καὶ ἐρχόντησαν</u> κ' <u>ἐπροσκυνοῦσαν</u> ὅλοι   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1640

<u>ἀρχάζουν</u> οἱ ἅπαντες ... <u>καὶ κάμνουσιν</u> τὰ ὀμάτζια στὸν πρίγκιπαν
                                    14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7889–90

τούτη ἡ εἰκόνα <u>ἄρχισε</u> <u>καὶ ἐχαλᾶτον</u>   16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.39–40

<u>ἄρχισε</u> <u>καὶ ἔβγανε</u> φωνές   16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 106.26

<u>ἀρχίσαμεν</u> <u>καὶ ἐπεριπατούσαμεν</u> ὡς πρὸς τὰς Ἀνατολάς
                                    16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 108.24–5

(iii) Occasionally the indicative verb form follows asyndetically, and in this case an aorist (perfective) may be used if the process of inception is treated as a separate event, e.g. "X began and (then) did Y":

ἐκ τὴν χολήν του τὴν πολλὴν <u>ἄρχισε</u> <u>ἐχαμογέλα</u>   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1401

<u>ἄρχισεν</u> <u>ἐξέβαινεν</u> ἔξω ἐκ τὰ νησία   15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 155

<u>ἄρχισαν</u> <u>ἐτζακίσασιν</u> τὰ σπίτια, τὰ σεντούκια   15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 658

2.3   Verbs of "Fearing" and "Precaution"

(30) **Future-referring complements to verbs of "fearing" etc. are introduced by the "modal" negatives μή(ν)/μηδέν or μήπως καί + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν.**

φοβεῖ σε <u>μὴ ἔλθῃ</u> μήνυμα   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 150

ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι ... <u>μὴ οὐκ ἔνι</u> εἰς ἀρεστόν σου   13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G II.115

εἶχεν μέγαν φόβον <u>μὴ πιάσῃ</u> καὶ <u>τυφλώσῃ</u> τον, εἰς φυλακὴν τὸν <u>βάλῃ</u>
                                    14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4891–2

ὁ νοῦς μου <u>σ' ἔγνοια μπαίνει</u> <u>μὴν εἶν'</u> κιανεὶς στὸ σπίτι της
                                    17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* II.94–5

στέκει ... <u>μ' ἔγνοια</u> πολλὰ μεγάλη <u>μὴ λάχει</u> νὰ τσὶ βρούσινε
                                    17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* III.137–8

<u>φοβούμενη</u> <u>μήπως καὶ καλέσῃ</u> τηνε ὁ Θ(εό)ς   1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.5–6

<u>ἔχοντας</u> ρεσπέτο ... <u>μήπως καὶ δώσου</u> του ... πείραξη
                                    1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 193, 202.4–203.5

<u>ἐσκιάκτη</u> <u>μήπως καὶ ἔλθῃ</u> ὁ Σακούκος ὁ Περσιάνος καὶ τόνε <u>βάλῃ</u> ὀμπρός
                                    17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.26

<u>φοβοῦμαι</u> <u>μὴν δὲν θέλῃ</u> αὐτός   17th c., MONTSEL., *Evgena* 443

<u>φυλάγου</u> τήνε λία <u>μήπως καὶ πέσῃ</u> σ' ἔρωτα καὶ σᾶς <u>ἀποξεχάσῃ</u>
                                    17th c., PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 48

NOTES

(i) ˙ The same construction is used with verbs of "hindrance":

ἐμπόδιζε, Χριστέ μου, μὴ παίξῃ κοντογύρισμα καὶ ἐπάρῃ τὸ ραβδίν μου καὶ
    δώσῃ καὶ ποιήσῃ με στραβὸν παρὰ διαβόλου   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 175–8

(ii) Very rarely the negative particle μή(ν) is preceded by νά:

φοβοῦμαι νὰ μὴν πάθῃ τίβοτις   1584, Italy, PAPADOPOULOS 1978: 1, 318.10

(iii) Fears relating to the past involve the use of past-tense indicatives:

φοβοῦμαι νὰ μὴν τόχασα, temo haverlo perso   17th c., GERMANO, *Grammar* 85.25–6

2.4   Verbs Taking Indirect Questions

(31) Indirect questions are introduced by an expression containing/consisting of
an appropriate interrogative pronoun or adverb (constituent questions) or by
the conditional conjunctions εἰ/ἐάν/ἄν (yes/no questions); variant forms of the
latter include ἀνὲν καί (< ἄν ἔναι καί) and ἀνίσως καί (< ἄν ἴσως καί).

Εἰ is typical of earlier or more formal texts, as is the restriction of ἐάν/ἄν to future-referring
clauses containing a subjunctive verb; the generalized use of ἐάν/ἄν is typical of later and
more vernacular texts.

The verb is indicative, future/modal or conditional, normally retaining the tense of the
"original" direct question after a past-tense main verb (i.e. there is no sequence of tense
requirement, cf. Rule (22) for indirect statements).

Subjunctives are used without νά in embedded future-referring yes/no questions (cf. 3.3
on conditional clauses).

The examples below are grouped according to the tense of the embedded question (that
of the corresponding direct question in each case).

Constituent Questions

Future/Modal

βουλὴν ἐζήτησεν ... τοῦ νὰ τὸν συμβουλέψουν περὶ ... τοῦ Μορέως πῶς νὰ τὸν
    κυβερνήσῃ   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7829–30

οὐδὲν ἠξεύρω τὸ σιτάρι ποῦ να καταβαίνῃ ἀπὸ τὸ Λεοντάρι
                        1431, Ragusa, LAMBROS 1930: 29.21–2

τί νὰ εἰπῶ καὶ τί νὰ ἀφήσω δὲν κατέχω   17th c., *Diig. Sant.* 56.63–4

Present

ἤθελα διὰ νὰ τὸν ἐρωτήσω τίς ἔναι καὶ πόθεν ἔνι ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τί 'ναι τὸ
    στενάζει   15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 18–19

εἴντα μιλοῦσι τὰ πουλιὰ ξεύρει   17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* I.267

Aorist

ἐξεθύμανεν εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας πῶς τες ἄφησαν καὶ ἔκαμαν τοιοῦτον μέγα
    πρᾶγμα   16th c., *Martyr. Vlas.* 247.12–13

κατέχεις ... πόσα κακὰ ἐποίησα   17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 40.30

Yes/No Questions

Future/Modal

τὸν κάμπον νὰ τηρήσω, ἂν ἕν καὶ εὕρω πούπετε τόπον ν' ἀποκουμπήσω
                        16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 13–14

Present

ἐπροέγραψα τῆς πανιερότη σου ... ἂν ἔναι νὰ μᾶς ἐγβάλῃς ἕνα ματάτο
                        1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 5, 173.23–4

μὲ ἐρώτησε ἀνισῶς καὶ ἔχουν νὰ κάμουν ἀγάπην μὲ τοὺς Πολονέζους
                        1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 57.20–1

Aorist

λεπτομερῶς τοὺς ἐρωτᾶ ... ... ἂν ηὗραν τὴν ὄρεξίν τους   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 385–6

NOTES

(i) It is common in more vernacular texts for constituent indirect questions to be
    nominalized with τό:

ὡς εἶδεν τοῦτον ὁ ἀμιράς, ἄκο τὸ τίντα λέγει   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 517

καὶ τότε δίδουν τὴν βουλὴν τὸ ποῦ νὰ πᾶν νὰ κλέψουν

                        15th c., *Diig. Ven.* 81

ἔπεσεν εἰς λογισμὸν μέγα, τὸ πῶς νὰ ποιήσῃ νὰ μηδὲν ἐντροπιαστῇ
                        16th c., *Diig. Alex.* K 361.27–8

(ii) Οὐκ/(οὐ)δὲν ἔχω ("I am at a loss") is commonly used to introduce "deliberative"
    indirect questions containing an infinitive (well attested in this function to the end of
    the period of this Grammar) or, in later texts, a future/modal verb form marked with
    νά:

Infinitive

καὶ τί φορεῖν οὐκ ἔχω   12th c., *Ptoch. III* 231

τὸ τί ποιήσει οὐκ εἴχασιν   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4084

δὲν ἔχει πῶς κάμει ἀλλέως παρὰ νὰ πάρῃ τὴ πρελατσιὸν
                        1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 187, 198.4

καὶ δὲν εἴχαμεν ἴντα στιμάρει   1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 779, 676.27

καὶ δὲν εἶχε τί κάμει   17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 26.28

νά + Subjunctive

ποῦ νὰ τῶν δώσῃ δὲν εἶχε πλία   16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 420

δὲν ἔχουν τὸ ποῦ γράμματα νὰ μαθαίνουν   17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2197

3 Adverbial Clauses

Many subordinate clauses function as adjuncts, i.e. as optional adverbial or adjectival constituents of sentences (see 5.3.3 for the latter). This chapter deals specifically with the different types of adverbial clause.

3.1 Final (Purpose) Clauses

(32) Purpose is normally expressed by means of a subjunctive verb form (imperfective or perfective) marked with the particle ἵνα/νά placed at the beginning of the final clause; the negative is μή(ν)/μηδέν, which may itself stand clause-initially without νά.

In LMedG the clause as a whole may be nominalized with τοῦ.

From ca. 15th c. onwards the particle may be reinforced with διά/γιά "for", or, somewhat earlier but less commonly, ὅπως "so (that)".

Νά is often omitted in negative final clauses, as noted, especially when there is a clear additional nuance of fear or precaution (cf. 2.3).

+ ἵνα/νά (omissible in negatives) + Subjunctive

παραβίβαζέ τον ... μήνα ... λυτρωθοῦμεν τον γοργόν, <u>νά μή</u> μᾶς <u>παραβλέπη</u>
<div align="right">14th c./12th c., <i>Ptoch. IV</i> 525–8</div>

βλέπε εἰς τό ἕν <u>μή πάθης</u> δέκα   13th c. /?, <i>Paroim.</i> A 120

κράτησον τά φουσσᾶτα σου <u>μηδέν ἔβγουσιν</u> ἔξω   14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H 1117

ἔγραψεν ..., <u>νά ἰδοῦσιν</u> τά προστάγματα   14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H 7852–4

κ' ἤθελεν ποιήσει ... ἔπαινόν του μέγαν, ... <u>μή</u> προῦ <u>ἀπορήση</u> παντελῶς, καί <u>χάσουν</u> τον οἱ Φράγκοι   14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H 8531–5

ἐξέβη ... ἀπὲ τήν Λευκωσίαν <u>νά πάγη</u> στήν Γένουβα
<div align="right">1390, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 11, 89.2–3</div>

τά κάτεργα ἔκαυσα <u>ἵνα μήν ἔναι</u> ἐπιστροφή   16th c./14th c., <i>Velis.</i> p 297

ἐδώκαμεν ... τό ἀμπέλιον, <u>ἵνα ἔχη</u> αὐτό καί <u>δεσπόζη</u>
<div align="right">14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 147.2–3</div>

σὲ τήν ἐδώκαμεν <u>νά χαίρεσαι</u> μὲ ταύτην   16th c./?14th–15th c., <i>Achil.</i> O 22

+ τοῦ νά

καί δένει με εἰς τήν σέλαν μου σφικτά <u>τοῦ νά μή πέσω</u>   15th c./13th–14th c., <i>Liv.</i> E 3306

μὲ πονηρίαν ἀπόστελνεν τούς καταπατητᾶδες <u>τοῦ νά μαθαίνη</u> ... τὲς τῶν Φραγκῶν γάρ πρᾶξες   14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H 1049–50

+ διά/γιά νά

καί ἐλάλεν τούς το ..., <u>γιά ν' ἀφήσουν</u> τόν ρήγα εἰς τήν ἀφεντίαν του
<div align="right">16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, <i>Chron.</i> V 50.20–3</div>

ἐπέψεν τούς ἀνθρώπους, <u>διά νά πᾶν</u> εἰς τό σπίτιν του
<div align="right">16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., <i>Chron.</i> A 4.17–18</div>

εἶπεν γιά 'κεῖνο τό κάμνει ..., <u>γιά νά μή μπορᾶ</u> τό κόψη οὐδένας
<div align="right">1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 662, 576.14–15</div>

ὁ Θεός ἠθέλησε νά φανερώση ... τήν ἀλήθειαν, <u>ὀδιά νά μήν ἔχουσιν</u> οἱ ἀσεβεῖς καμμίαν πρόφασιν   17th c., VENETZAS, <i>Varl. & Ioas.</i> 38.26

+ ὅπως νά

τούς ἔγραψεν ... <u>ὅπως νά καταλάβωσιν</u> ἐκεῖσε εἰς τήν Κλαρέντσα
<div align="right">14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H 7852–3</div>

ἔθεσαν αὐτόν εἰς τήν ἀναγεγραμμένη μονή ... <u>ὅπως νά ἱερουργάη</u> καί <u>ψάλλη</u> τήν αὐτήν μονή εἰς ὕμνον   1558, Corfu, KONDOYANNIS/KARYDIS 1994: 2, 649.9–14

NOTES

(i) The genitive of the definite article was used in AG with an infinitive to express purpose, and though LMedG/EMG normally substitutes νά + subjunctive for the infinitive, as above, there are some examples of the infinitival construction from LMedG texts:

ἐκεῖσε ἡμπλικεύσασι <u>τοῦ μή φανερωθῆναι</u>   13th–14th c./?12th c., <i>Dig.</i> G II.102

συνέδραμον ἐκεῖ ὅλοι <u>τοῦ βοηθῆσαι</u>   16th c./14th c., <i>Velis.</i> p 316

(ii) In LMedG texts a purpose clause may also be realized by means of διά "for" (also πρός "towards" and εἰς "(in)to") + a νά-clause nominalized with the accusative of the definite article (see also 3.8):

τό κατούδιν ... στήσας εἰς τό τραπέζιν, <u>διά τό νά εἰποῦν</u> ὅτι ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖνο τήν ζημίαν   14th c./12th c., <i>Ptoch. III</i> 264–5

(iii) Relative clauses may be given a final sense ("[someone] to do X/who can do X") through the use of future/modal forms (cf. 5.5):

εἴχασιν δέ καί μετ' αὐτῶν, <u>ὁποῦ νά</u> τούς τά <u>λέγη</u>, τήν μαΐμοῦ
<div align="right">15th c./14th c., <i>Diig. tetr.</i> 36–7</div>

(iv) Given the inherent sequencing of the events denoted by main and final clauses, something of the effect of a final clause may be achieved through coordination with καί; this is particularly common when the purpose is fulfilled and with verbs of "coming" and "going" (cf. <i>s/he went and did X</i>):

τό πρᾶγμα σου <u>ἀσφάλιζε καί</u> τόν γείτονά σου κλέπτην <u>μήν</u> τόν <u>κάμης</u>
<div align="right">16th c./?, <i>Paroim.</i> H 55</div>

ὡσὰν ἦλθαν καὶ τὸν ἐπροσκύνησαν, λέγει   16th c., *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 75.18–21

ηὗρε καιρὸ ὁ σουλτὰν Μπαγιαζίτης καὶ τοὺς ἐζήτησε τὸ κάστρο
                                        17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.10–13

ἐπήγασι καὶ ἐχτίσασι σπίτια στὰ τριγύρω νησόπουλα
                                        18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 19.7–8

(v) In 16th- and 17th-c. Cretan literary texts πά often represents a reduction of πά +
νά, where the first element is an invariant grammaticalized form of πάω "go", cf.
θά < θέ(λω) + νά, μπορά < μπορ(ῶ) + νά, etc. It is sometimes difficult to decide
between a literal meaning and a more evolved future/modal function for πά, but
the ultimate origins of πά νά as a kind of final clause ("go to do X", "go and do
X") are clear:

ἀπού τὰ χείλη του θέλω νὰ πά γροικήσω ἂν ἔχει πόνο
                                        17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* I.45–6

ὁμπλεγάρεται ... νὰ πά τὸ ξανακαμπανίσου στοῦ ἄνωθεν
                                1609, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 626, 547.15

θὲς νὰ πά φέρω ἕνα σκοινί, σφιχτὰ νὰ τόνε δέσης;   17th c., FOSKOLOS, *Fort.* IV.289

κι ἂς κάμουν ὅ,τι λέγουσι, μὴν (μ)πά καὶ γελαστοῦσι
                                        17th–18th c./?17th c., *Alfav.* 11 42 app. crit.

(vi) The conjunction μήνα (also used adverbially = "perhaps"/"by any chance" in direct
questions, see 1.4.1, Rule (17)) may be used in place of simple μή(ν), particularly
when the sense required is not negative purpose but the more positive "(just) in case",
"in the hope that":

ὅρμησα ... τὸ νὰ γενῶ τσαγγάρης, μήνα χορτάσω τὸ ψωμίν
                                        14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 145–6

τάχατε κλεῖ τὰ μάτια του, μήνα τὸν ἔλθη ὕπνος·   15th c., *Peri xen.* 25

πολλὰ αὐτοὶ ἐπάσχισαν, μήνα τὸν ἐξεβγάλουν   16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 15 g

ἐκοίταζα πολλὰ μήνα ἰδῶ καὶ ἄλλους ὁπού ἐγνώριζα
                                        16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 109.26–7

(vii) The element (μ)πάς (perhaps a reduction of μήν + an invariant form of πάω "go"
with adverbial -ς (rather than the unmotivated 2 sg. πᾶς)) is used similarly in Cyprus
in combination with καί; a following νά is optional. The sense "(just) in case" allows
for considerable overlap with complements of verbs of "fearing" and "precaution"
(see 2.3, Rule (30)):

μὲ φόβον στέκω ... φοβῶντα πάντα πάς καὶ βαρεθῆς με· τα πάθη βιάζουν πάς καὶ
λυπηθῆς με   16th c./?15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 91.11–13

ὁ ῥήγας ... ἐδιαλογίζετον πάς καὶ ἡ ῥήγαινα κομπωθῆ καὶ πᾶσιν καὶ πάρουν τὴν
Κερυνίαν   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 408.1

τοῦ 'γραψεν γραφάδες ..., πάς καὶ νὰ κάμη νὰ σαστῆ τοῦ χαζανᾶ ἡ λίτη
                                        17th–18th c./17th c., KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 84–6

3.2   Consecutive (Result) Clauses

(33) **When the result described in a consecutive clause is presented as an event in
real time, it is introduced by ὅτι "that" + indicative or, from ca. 15th c., by
"factive" (ὁ)πού + indicative (both with negative οὐ(κ)/οὐδέν); when the result
is presented as potential or logical rather than actual, consecutive clauses
contain a future/modal verb form marked by νά + subjunctive (imperfective
or perfective, with negative μή(ν)), later preceded optionally by ὅτι or (ὁ)πού.**

A clause specifying the result of an action or state of affairs described in a main clause
is always in principle optional, but if the main clause contains an element modified by a
specifier meaning "so"/"such", some result is at least strongly anticipated if not actually
compulsory, cf. ... *so X [that Y]*.

With ὅτι + Indicative

ἐγίνετον ὁ φόβος τοιούτως πολύς, ὅτι οἱ χριστιανοὶ ... ἐξοδῶκαν ἀπὲ τοὺς οἴκους των
                                        1326, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 41, 93.10–12

τόσα τὸν ἀγαπήσασιν ... ὅτι βουλὴν ἀπήρασιν οἱ φρονιμώτεροί τους
                                        14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2101–3

τόσον ἔγινε ἀπὸ τὴν μυθολογίαν ἔνδοξος ὅτι ὑπερέβη πάντας τοὺς σοφοὺς καὶ
διδασκάλους   16th c., *Vios Aisop.* K 147.4–5

τί εἶναι ἐτούτη ἡ σοφία ὁπού τοῦ ἐδώθη, ὅτι καὶ τέτοιας λογῆς δυνάμεις γίνονται διὰ
τῶν χειρῶν του;   17th c., KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 6.2

With (ὁ)πού + Indicative

ἔμαθαν τὸν ὁρισμὸν ἐκεῖνον, τόσον σκληρὸν κι ὠμότατον πού ποτὲ οὐκ ἐφάνη
                                        15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* II.14,4–5 (1529)

τὴν ὥραν ἐκείνην ... ἔβρεξεν εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον ὁπού πούπετες δὲν εἶχεν μείνει ὁπού
νὰ μὴν βρέξει   16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.23–5

εἶδα δυὸ κομμάτια κριάς ..., τόσα παχιά, τόσα καλά, τόσα πολλὰ μεγάλα, π' ὅλος
ἐξαναστάθηκα   17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* III.85–7

ἕνας θρῆνος γίνεται εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μοναστήρι ὁπού ὅποιος τὰς ἰδεῖ κλαίει τὴν λύπην
τωνε   1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.30–1

ἔπεμψε παντόθες νὰ τὸν γυρεύγη ὁπού ἠμπορεῖ νὰ εἰπῇ τινὰς πῶς δὲν ἄφηκε πέτρα
ἀγύρευτην   17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 33.14–16

ἐγίνηκε ταραχὴ μεγάλη καὶ πόλεμος φοβερός, πού ἐγέμωσε ὁ κάμπος ἀπὸ κουφάρια
                                        18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 33.24–6

With νά + Subjunctive

οὐδὲν εὑρίσκω εἰς ἐμέν ... τοσούτην ἀδιάκρισιν, νὰ μὴ τὸ ἐγνωρίζω ὅτι εἰς τὸ κουμοῦ
τῆς Βενετίας ἐξέβησαν ἄνθρωποι γνώσεως μεγάλης   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 948–51

ἀλλὰ τινὰς οὐκ ἔφτασεν ποτέ του εἰς τόσην δόξαν, τὸ στέμμα τὸ βασιλικὸν νὰ τοῦ τὸ
ἔχουν φορέσει   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 952–3

θέλεις ἐβγῆν εἰς ὀρεινὸν λιβάδιν τέτοιον μέγα <u>νὰ ἐγγίζῃ</u> ἀπάνω εἰς οὐρανόν ... ἡ

κορυφή του   14th c., *Log. parig.* L 133–4

λέγε μου ... πῶς ἐπλανέθηκες τέτοιας λογῆς <u>νὰ προτιμᾶς</u> ... ἐκεῖνα ὁποὺ δὲν θεωρεῖς

ἀπὸ ἐκεῖνα ὁποὺ θεωροῦμεν φανερά   17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34.20–1

With ὅτι νά + Subjunctive

ἀποκεῖς ἐβγάλ' το ἀπὸ τὴ φωτιὰ καὶ βάνεις τὸ κακκάβι ... τόσο <u>ὅτι</u> τὸ νερὸ <u>νὰ μὴν</u>

<u>ἠμπορῇ</u> νὰ πάῃ ὄξω   ?15th–16th c., Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.24–5

With (ὁ)ποὺ νά + Subjunctive

καὶ ἕνα σκαρπέλλο τόσο μακρὺ <u>ὁποὺ ν' ἀβαντζάρῃ</u> ὄξω ἀπὸ τὴν μποῦκα τοῦ

κομματιοῦ   ?15th–16th c., Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.2–3

παρακαλῶ τὴν ἀφεντία σου νὰ κατιβάσῃς τὰ πρέτζια διὰ νὰ πουλοῦμε (τὰ βιβλία)

..., <u>ποὺ νὰ μὴ</u> μᾶς <u>ἀπομνίσκουν καὶ γένουνται</u> μπατάλικα

1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 10, 308, f.2r.28–32

NOTES

(i) In earlier texts and in less formal styles the consecutive clause may appear without future/modal νά or any overt conjunction:

οὐκ ἦτον τόσος ὁ λαὸς τὰ πλευτικὰ <u>γεμίσουν</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 407

καὶ τόσα ἐβιάστησαν πολλὰ <u>ἐσυμβιβάσανέ</u> τους   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3312

τόσα ἔπλευσαν, τόσα ἔποικαν, <u>φθάνουν</u> τὴν Σαλαμῖναν   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1385

(ii) In more learned styles the ancient conjunction ὥστε may be used with past indicatives in place of ὅτι/(ὁ)ποῦ, and occasionally even with the ancient accusative + infinitive construction (but ὥστε νά + subjunctive is usually temporal, see 3.4); in later texts ὥστε appears also in combination with (ὁ)ποῦ:

καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος τοιοῦτος μέγας <u>ὥστε ἔριπτεν</u> τὰ ἀνώγια ἀπάνω κάτω

1326, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 41, 93.6–7

σπαράττουσι τὰ μέλη του, κλονεῖται τὴν καρδίαν <u>ὥστε νομίζειν</u> καὶ <u>τὴν γρὰν</u>

<u>ἀποθανεῖν</u> ἐκεῖνον   16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1161–2

ἦτον παχὺς εἰς τὸ κορμί του ... <u>ὥστε</u> ἀπὸ τοῦ πάχους <u>δὲν ἐφαινόντεσαν</u> τὰ

ἀρχίδια αὐτοῦ   16th c./15th c., *Syndipas* 116.10–14

ἔπεσεν τόσον θανατικὸν <u>ὥστε ὁποὺ</u> ἐμεῖς <u>δὲν ἠμποροῦμεν</u> νὰ θάπτομεν τοὺς

νεκρούς   17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 6–7

(iii) There is some formal overlap/confusion between consecutive and final clauses in that both look forward to events that follow the action of the main clause:

καὶ τόσα τοὺς ποτίσετε <u>τοῦ νὰ ἔχουσιν μεθύσει</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8301

(iv) From ca.15th c. onwards coordination with καί is a common alternative to subordination given the inherent consequentiality of the two events:

ἐκεῖνος ἦτον τόσον κρουδὲλ <u>καὶ ἔρισεν καὶ ἐσκοτῶσαν</u> τον

16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 18.7

καὶ ἄκου τὸ τί μοῦ ἐσύντυχεν <u>κ' ἐθλίβην</u> ἡ ψυχή μου 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 28

οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται ἠβλέπουν τόσο πολὺ φουσάτο <u>καὶ φοβοῦνται καὶ δίδουν</u> τὸν

Σαψὼν δεμένον τῶν ἐχθρῶν   16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 278.33–4

ἔπαρε ἀγριάγγουρα ... καὶ τὰ σφίγγεις <u>καὶ πηδᾷ</u> ἔξω τὸ ζουμὶ καὶ ὁ σπόρος τους

17th c., LANDOS, *Geopon.* 237.4–6

3.3   Conditional Clauses

(34) **Conditional clauses (protases) are introduced by (ἐ)άν "if", ἀνένα "if it is the case that", ἀνίσως "if by chance", ἄν πολλάκις "if ever/by chance", with negative οὐ(κ)/οὐδέν; εἰ "if" is also used in older texts as well as in more formal styles. "Unless" is rendered by means of πλὴν ἄν, ἔξω ἄν or ἀλλέως καί (no conjunction); "even if" by καὶ ἄν/ἄς, or ἀνένα καί/ἀνίσως καί, πλὴν (κ)ἄν (but see also concessive clauses, 3.6).**

When a conditional conjunction is present, νά is hardly ever used to mark future/modal or conditional verb forms; but the conditional conjunction may be omitted and the relevant forms *must* then be marked with νά (negative μή(ν)).

In LMedG/EMG both tense and aspect are important in determining the time reference of a conditional sentence as well as its reading as specific or generic (see below for details). Any meaningful pairing of forms/tenses is possible in the protasis and apodosis (main clause), but the event described in the protasis can never follow that of the apodosis.

With time εἶχον/εἶχα + aorist infinitive is confined increasingly to protases, where it starts to evolve into a pluperfect, first through reinterpretation as a form marking the *logical* priority of the events described in hypothetical/counterfactual protases and then, through a natural extension, as marking *temporal* priority vis-à-vis other past events, thus allowing its use in other subordinate clauses and also in main clauses. The development proceeds at different speeds in different areas, depending in part on whether the pluperfect formed with εἶχον/εἶχα + perfect passive participle is in use. In the 14th-c. *Chronicle of Morea*, for example, the εἶχα-periphrasis appears only in counterfactual protases in past time and is already used as a true pluperfect. By contrast, in 16th/17th-c. Crete, where participial pluperfects are the norm, it is still used only in subordinate clauses for which a meaning "would (have)" is possible, whether in a hypothetical or (secondary) habitual sense.

The examples below are organized according to the time-reference of the protasis/conditional clause, as determined by its overall context (but since conditional forms may be used to refer to past, present or future, there is often indeterminacy).

3.3.1   Future/Generic Time Reference

Subjunctives (possible events) or past indicatives/conditionals (hypothetical events) may appear in the protasis (see 1.2.2 for further details of the forms involved).

There is a fairly strong correlation between perfective forms in apodoses and specific readings of the whole, imperfective forms in apodoses and generic readings of the whole

(though perfective νά-futures are often generic and imperfects used as conditionals are aspectually neutral, cf. Chapter 1, Rule (11) and NOTES).

3.3.1.1   Subjunctive in Protasis

Future/Specific

ἂν μὲ <u>λάχη</u> θάνατος, <u>νὰ</u> μὲ <u>λαζαρώσουν</u> ὥσπερ τοὺς ὅλους καλογέρους
<div align="right">ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.52–82.53</div>

<u>εἰ</u> μὲν <u>εὑροῦν</u> ὅτι ζητεῖ ... τὸ κάστρον τῆς Καρύταινας ..., <u>νὰ</u> τοῦ <τὴν> <u>δώση</u> τὴν
νομὴν καὶ <u>νὰ</u> τὸν <u>ρεβεστίση</u>
<div align="right">14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8143–5</div>

<u>ἂν στραφῆ</u> εἰς τὴν Φραγκίαν, <u>ἂν οὐδὲν ποιήση</u> ἔργον νὰ μείνη εἰς τὴν Ρωμανίαν ...,
ὅλοι τὸν <u>θέλουσι γελᾶ</u>, <u>μέμφεσται</u> κι <u>ὀνειδίζει</u>
<div align="right">14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8183–5</div>

βαρὺν μὲ <u>ἤθελε φανῆ</u>, <u>ἂν εὕρω</u> ὅτι ἀργεῖτε
<div align="right">15th c./14th c., Pol. Tr. 1419</div>

<u>ἂν</u> ἐγὼ <u>ἀποθάνω</u>, <u>εὕρει θέλει</u> ἡ βασιλεία σου ἄλλον ἀντὶ τοῦ Φιλόνην· <u>εἰ</u> δὲ <u>ἀποθάνης</u>
ἐσύ, ἐγὼ ἄλλον βασιλέα Ἀλέξανδρον <u>οὐδὲν θέλω εὕρειν</u>
<div align="right">16th c., Diig. Alex. F 26.16–18 (Konstantinopulos)</div>

<u>ἂν ἴσως καὶ εἰπῶ</u> πῶς εἶσαι ἀμάθητος τοῦ καλοῦ, καλὰ τὸ <u>θέλω εἰπεῖ</u>
<div align="right">17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas. 35.31–2</div>

Generic

<u>ἂν εὕρουν</u> εἰς κατώφορον ψυχὴν ἀναγκασμένην, ἐκεῖ <u>περισυνάγονται</u> καὶ <u>πολεμοῦν</u>
τὴν πνίξειν
<div align="right">13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 187–8</div>

ὁ Θεὸς <u>ἐλευθερώση</u> σε, <u>καὶ ἃς εἶσαι</u> ψωμοζήτης
<div align="right">13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 216</div>

<u>πλὴν κὰν</u> αὐτὸς <u>ἐλησμονῆ</u>, <u>πλὴν κὰν</u> αὐτὸς <u>νυστάζη</u>, ἐγὼ <u>πονῶ</u> καὶ ἐγὼ <u>ἀγρυπνῶ</u>
καὶ ἐγὼ <u>νὰ</u> σ' <u>ἐνθυμίσω</u>
<div align="right">15th c./12th c., Ptoch. (Maiuri) 10–11</div>

στὴν ἐκκλησία τους <u>ἐὰν συμβῆ</u> Φράγκος νὰ λειτουργήση, σαράντα ἡμέρες <u>λείπεται</u>
ἄψαλτη ἡ ἐκκλησιά τους
<div align="right">14th c., Chron. Mor. H 767–8</div>

ἐχτρὸν τὸν <u>ἔχω</u> τοῦ Χριστοῦ, <u>νὰ μὴ</u> μὲ <u>σφάξη</u> εὐθέως
<div align="right">14th c., Chron. Mor. H 4756</div>

καὶ πολλάκις <u>ἂν</u> τοὺς τὸ <u>εἴπωσι</u>, <u>νὰ μηδὲν κάθωνται</u>
<div align="right">1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.21, 1</div>

3.3.1.2   Past Indicative/Conditional in Protasis

Future/Specific

καὶ ἂν <u>ἤθελα θανατωθῆ</u>, τὴν κόρην <u>δὲν ἀφήνω</u>
<div align="right">15th–16th c./13th–14th c., Liv. α 2960 app. crit. (N)</div>

<u>ἂν ἤθελα</u> λεπτῶς νὰ σὲ τὰ ἔγραψα ὅλα ..., ... πολλὰ <u>ἠθέλαν βαρεθῆ</u> ἐκεῖνοι ὅπου τὸ
ἀκοῦσιν
<div align="right">14th c., Chron. Mor. H 2816–18</div>

<u>ἤθελεν ποιήσει</u> ψυχικὸν καὶ ἔπαινόν του μέγαν, <u>νὰ ὑπάντρεψε</u> τὴν ντάμα Ζαμπέα μὲ
ἕναν καβαλλάρην
<div align="right">14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8531–2</div>

εἰς τέτοιον λογισμὸν <u>ἂν ἤμουν</u> ὅλη μέρα <u>ἤθελα σκάσει</u> στέκοντα σὰ σύκον ἢ πεπόνι
<div align="right">16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, Log. did. 258–9</div>

Generic

<u>πολλάκις</u> δὲ ὁ πρίγκιπας <u>νὰ ἦτον</u> εἰς ἄλλον τόπον καὶ <u>νὰ ἤθελεν</u> νὰ ἔβαλλεν ὁκάποιο
ἄλλον ..., <u>οὐδὲν χρεωστοῦν</u> οἱ ἄνθρωποι ... νὰ ποιήσουν ἄλλου γὰρ τινὸς
ὁμάτζιον
<div align="right">14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7896–900</div>

<u>ἀμπολλάκις</u> καὶ <u>δὲν ἤθελαν</u> τὸ <u>δουλεύουν</u> καλὰ ..., <u>νὰ ἠμπορῆ</u> νὰ τοὺς ἐβγάνη ἀπὸ
τὸ ἄνωθεν δίχως λόγου καὶ κρίσεως
<div align="right">1573, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 2, 21.10–11</div>

<u>ἂν ἴσως</u> κ' ... <u>δὲν ἤθελεν ἔχει</u> χρεία ἐκεῖνος ... καὶ <u>ἤθελεν θέλει</u> νὰ τηνὲ (ἀγελέα)
πακτώσει, <u>νὰ μὴ μπορᾶ</u> τηνε δώσει ἄλλονοῦ
<div align="right">1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 57, 77.9–11</div>

<u>ἂν ἐφρονέψασι</u> κι αὐτοὶ ν' ἀλλάξουσι δαμάκι, τσὶ κορασὲς <u>δεῖν ἤθελες</u> νὰ πιούσινε
φαρμάκι
<div align="right">17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, Panor. I.443–4</div>

3.3.2   Present Time Reference

Present indicatives (potentially real events) or imperfect indicatives/conditionals (hypothetical/counterfactual events) may appear in protases, where there is a strong correlation between present time reference and imperfective aspect.

3.3.2.1   Present Indicative in Protasis

<u>ἐὰν</u> ὁ πατὴρ <u>ὑπάρχει</u> δαιμονιάριος, ὁ πάππος <u>δύναται</u> συναινεῖν τῳ γάμῳ, διότις ὁ
υἱὸς οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐρρωμένος τὸν νοῦν
<div align="right">ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 239.414</div>

<u>ἂν ἔχεις</u> ἀπλαζίριν, <u>ἃς πᾶν</u> οἱ ἄνθρωποι νὰ μας ποίσουν τόπον, διὰ νὰ σοῦ συντύχω!
<div align="right">16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 8.12–13</div>

<u>ἂ θὲς</u> νὰ γιάνω, ἀφέντη μου, <u>ἔλα</u> μοῦ τ' ἀγοράσης!
<div align="right">17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, Katz. III. 92</div>

<u>ἂν ἔν' καὶ λέγω</u> ψέματα, ὅλοι μὲ <u>πέτε</u> 'κτῆμα'
<div align="right">16th c., Kakop. 14</div>

<u>μίσσεψε</u>, Ἀλέξη, πρὶ σὲ <u>δῆ</u>, <u>ἀνένω</u> κι <u>ἀγαπᾶς</u> με
<div align="right">17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, Panor. I.241</div>

3.3.2.2   Imperfect/Conditional in Protasis

<u>ἂν</u> οὐ σὲ <u>'γάπουν</u> τὰ πολλά, τώρα <u>σκοτώσει</u> σέ 'χα
<div align="right">15th–16th c./?14th–15th c., Achil. N 1571</div>

<u>ἂν ἦτον</u> καὶ <u>νὰ μπόρειε</u> τὸν ὕπνον νὰ κοιμᾶτον <u>ἀλησμονήσειν ἤθελεν</u> ὀλίγον ἐκ τὴν
λύπην
<div align="right">15th c., Peri xen. 23</div>

<u>ἂν</u> τό <u>'ξευρα</u> ἀληθινά, <u>ἐπηγαίννα καὶ ἐσκοτώννα</u> τὸν μισὲρ Ἀντρίαν
<div align="right">16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 42.17–18</div>

σαράντ' ἁγιοὺς <u>καὶ ἂν ἔκραζες</u> μὲ πόθο νὰ γυρεύῃς, τὲς λειτουργιές σου <u>χάνεις</u> τες,
μὰ μένα δὲν μοῦ <u>φεύγεις</u>   16th c., *Alfav.* 10 71–2

<u>ἂν ἠθέλαμεν κοιμᾶσται</u> ... <u>ἠθέλαμεν εἰπεῖν</u> ὅτι ὄνειρον ἐθεωρούσαμεν
                                                        17th c., *Vios Aisop.* I 269, 37–8

<u>ἂν εἶχα</u> ἑκατὸ γλῶσσες καὶ <u>νἄχα</u> ἑκατὸ στόματα ... τὰ χείλη <u>δὲν μποροῦσι</u> παρὰ
ποὺ ν' ἀποφρίξουνε   17th–18th c./17th c., *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 65–8

<u>ἂν ἐμποροῦσαν</u> θάνατο <u>ἐθέλασι</u> μοῦ <u>δώσει</u>   17th–18th c./17th c., *Stathis* Prol. 4

3.3.3   Past Time Reference

Past indicatives (denoting both potentially real and hypothetical/counterfactual events) and
conditionals (hypothetical/counterfactual events) may be used in protases.

Protases containing past indicatives referring to the past are fairly uncommon, and tend
to have progressive or generic readings marked by imperfective aspect; but the aorist may
also be used in generics if there is contextual support such as a co-occurring adverb like
ποτέ "ever".

3.3.3.1   Past Indicative in Protasis

Real (Progressive/Generic)

αὐτὴ καὶ <u>ἂν ἐμαραίνετον</u>, <u>ἔλαμπεν</u> ὡς ὁ ἥλιος   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 183

ποτὲ <u>ἂν ἐσυνεπλάκη</u> ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους μου ... εἰς τέτοιαν ... ἀνάμνησιν
ἀγάπης, πολλὰ τὸν <u>ἐκατεπίκραινα</u>, χίλια τὸν <u>ἐμεμφόμην</u>
                                                        15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* α 125–8

οἷος καὶ ἂν εὑρίσκετον, μαντατοφόρος <u>νὰ ἦτον</u>, τινὰς <u>οὐδὲν</u> τὸν <u>ἔκαμνεν</u> ἐμπόδιον
καθόλου   16th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1395–6 (ms B)

ἀπὸ τοῦτα τὰ μῆλα τινὰς δὲν <u>ἠμπόρειε</u> νὰ πάρει ἀπ' αὖτα <u>ἂν δὲν ἦτονε</u> παρθένος καὶ
καθαρός   16th c., Kartanos, *P&N Diath.* 335.38–9

Counterfactual

<u>ἂν οὐκ ἐθάρρεις</u> κολυμβᾶν, κολυμβητὴς μὴ ἐγένου, ἀλλ' <u>ἂς ἐκάθου</u> σιγηρὸς ..., καὶ <u>ἂς
ἔκνηθες</u> τὴν λέπραν σου, καὶ <u>ἂς ἤφηνες</u> ἐμέναν   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 103–5

καταβλαττὰς <u>ἂν ἔμαθον</u> καὶ σηκωτὴς ἂν ἤμουν, ὡς σηκωτὴς <u>νὰ ἐδούλευα</u> τὴν
ἅπασαν ἡμέραν   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 181–2

<u>ἂν οὐδὲν ἦτον</u> ἡ θάλασσα, ἀκόμη <u>εἶχε ὑπαγαίνειν</u>   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 260

τοὺς πόνους <u>ἂν ἐσύναξαν</u> ὅλους τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ... καὶ εἰς ἄλλον μέρος νὰ ἔβαναν
πόνους τῆς ξενιτείας, πλέον τῶν ἄλλων <u>ἐβάρυναν</u> πόνοι τῆς ξενιτείας
                                                        15th c., *Alf. Xen.* B 99–102

Μαρ. ἐγὼ τὸν <u>εἴχουνα</u> ἂν ἐκεῖνος δὲν εἶχεν φάγει. Ἑρμ. ... καὶ πῶς τὸν <u>ἤθελες</u> ἔχει <u>ἂν
δὲν ἔτρωγεν</u> ἐκεῖνος;   17th c., *Bertoldin.* 96.19–22

3.3.3.2   Conditional in Protasis

<u>εἰ</u> δὲ <u>κομπώσειν ἤθελες</u> ..., <u>ἃς ἔλαβες</u> ὁμοίαν σου, καπήλου θυγατέραν
                                                        14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 106–7

ἐκεῖνοι <u>ἂν</u> σε <u>εἶχαν εὑρεῖ</u>, Συρίαν οὐκ <u>ἐθεώρεις</u>   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 141

<u>ἂν εἶχε ἐπάρει</u> ὁ πρίγκιπας τότε τὸν Μέγαν Κύρην καὶ τὰ φουσσᾶτα τῶν νησίων
... καὶ <u>νὰ εἶχε ὑπάγει</u> σπουδαχτικὰ ὁλόρθα εἰς τὸ Νίκλι ... ὁ Μέγας ὁ Δεμέστικος
ἀργὰ <u>νὰ ἐφουσσατέψεν</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4876–80

<u>ἂν εἶχαν ποίσειν</u> τὰ καρτζὰ ἀσημένα, <u>ἤθελα εἶσταιν</u> τόσα φτενὰ ὅτι ἠθέλαν
καταλυέσθαιν γλήγορα   16th c./15th c., Machairas, *Chron.* V 76.18–19

<u>ἂν εἶχαν ἔχει</u> κάτεργα, ... ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου <u>ἐφεύγασιν</u> ..., <u>ἤθελασιν προτιμηθῇ</u>
σύντομα νὰ μισεύσουν   16th c./15th c., *Velis.* ρ 325–8

Μαρ. Ἐγὼ τὸν <u>εἴχουνα</u> ἂν ἐκεῖνος <u>δὲν εἶχεν φάγει</u>. Ἑρμ. ... καὶ πῶς τὸν ἤθελες ἔχει
ἂν δὲν ἔτρωγεν ἐκεῖνος;   17th c., *Bertoldin.* 96.19–22

<u>ἀνίσως καὶ</u> ὁ ἀγάς του <u>δὲν</u> τὸν <u>ἤθελε κράξει</u>, <u>δὲν ἤθελαν ἡμπορέσει</u> οἱ ἀκτῖνες τοῦ
ἡλίου νὰ τὸν ξυπνήσουν   18th c., *Don Kis.* 48.8–10

NOTES

(i)   In texts composed wholly or partly in higher registers certain ancient options may be
used:
ἄν as an apodotic particle with counterfactual past indicatives (and conditional
periphrases):

εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖ <u>ἐτύχομεν</u>, <u>οὐκ ἂν</u> τοῦτο <u>συνέβη</u>, <u>οὐκ ἂν</u> εἰς οἶκον μᾶς ποτε <u>εἴχετε
πορευθῆναι</u>   13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G I.274–5

negative μή rather than οὐ(κ) in protases:

<u>ἂν</u> οὖν <u>μὴ φθάση</u> με τὸ σὸν φιλεύσπλαγχνον, αὐτάναξ, καὶ δώροις καὶ χαρίσμασι
τὴν ἄπληστον ἐμπλήσῃς, τρέμω, πτοοῦμαι, δέδοικα μὴ φονευθῶ πρὸ ὥρας, καὶ
χάσῃς σου τὸν Πρόδρομον   14th c./?12th c., *Ptoch. I* 271–4

(Note the accumulation of "high" features in this address to the emperor, e.g. datives, gen-
itive after a preposition, obsolete vocabulary.)

(ii)   When the main clause expresses hope/anticipation ἀνέν(αι) καί can be used in a
postposed subordinate clause, "in hope"/"in case":

ἐμπρός-ὀπίσω γύρισα, ... <u>ἂν ἒν καὶ εὕρω</u> πούπετε τόπον ν' ἀποκουμπήσω
                                                        16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 13–14

Μήπως is used similarly when the main clause expresses precaution/prevention, "lest/in
case":

μηδὲν δώσῃς πλῆξιν τοῦ πληξημένου <u>μήπως ππέσῃ</u> εἰς δισπιριά
                                                        16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 99.24–5

μὰ πὲς μου πῶς ἐπέρασε τὸ πράμα, <u>μήπως κι' ἔχει</u> δίκιο
                                                        17th c./16th c., Chortatsis, *Katz.* III.63–4

δέομαι ... νὰ ἔχω συγχώρησιν ... <u>μήπως εὔρῃ</u> με ὁ θάνατος
                                                        1622, ?Karpathos, Zerlendis 1918d: B, 300.17–20

3.4   Temporal Clauses

(35) **Temporal clauses add information about eventualities that take place before, at the same time as, or after the event described in the main clause, and contain past/present indicative or future/modal verb forms as required by the sense.**

Clauses denoting past-time situations *preceding* a past-time main clause (i.e. with conjunctions meaning "when", "after", "since", "as soon as") normally contain aorist (past perfective) indicatives whether the situation described is a single event or a series of habitual/repeated events; towards the end of the period of this Grammar, however, an imperfect (past imperfective) indicative may be substituted in the latter function. Those denoting non-past (present/future/generic) situations preceding a non-past main clause typically contain perfective (aorist) subjunctives to represent both single and repeated events, though present indicatives may sometimes appear when the meaning is habitual/progressive. Typical LMedG/EMG conjunctions of this type are:

"(at the point in time) when"

ὡσάν, σάν, ὡς; ὅτε, ὅταν, ὁπότα(ν); ὄντε, ὄντα(ν), ἄνταν

"after", "since (the time when)"

ἀφοῦ, ἀφότου; ἀφόν, ἀφό(ν)τι(ς); ἀπώς, ἀπότις, ἀπόντας; ἀπείς, ἀπείτις

"as soon as"

μόλις, ἅμα, ὅσον, εὐθὺς ὁπού, τόμου (< τὸ ὁμοῦ) νά, μοναῦτα καί

Clauses denoting past-time situations *overlapping* with a past-time main clause (i.e. with conjunctions meaning "while", "as long as") normally contain imperfect indicatives. Those denoting non-past situations overlapping with a non-past main clause contain present indicatives or imperfective/present subjunctives: since certain conjunctions do not allow/require subjunctives to be marked with νά (see below) it is often difficult or impossible to distinguish the two. Typical LMedG/EMG conjunctions of this type are:

"(during the time) when"

ὡσάν/σάν, ὡς, ὡς που, ὡς ποτε, ὡς ὅτι, ὡς ὅτε, ὡς ὁπότα(ν), ὥστε; ὄντε, ὄντα(ν), ἄνταν

"while", "as long as"

ἐνῶ, ἐνόσῳ; ἔστα(ν), ἔστοντας; ἕως (οὗ, ὁπού/πού, ὅτου, νά)

"as long as"

ὅσον

Situations *following* those described in past or non-past main clauses are necessarily prospective/theoretical relative to those main-clause events. Clauses describing these are normally introduced by conjunctions meaning "before"/"until" and contain subjunctives (mostly perfective/aorist); but since in past-time contexts the relevant actions eventually take place, a past-tense indicative is sometimes substituted in *until*-clauses, though not in *before*-clauses. Typical LMedG/EMG conjunctions of this type are:

"until"

ὡς (πού/ὅπου, ὅτι, ὅτε), ὥστε (πού/ὅπου); ἔσταν(ε); ἕως (οὗ, ὁπού/πού, ὅτου, νά); ὅσον

"before"

πρίν, πρὸ μή(ν), προτοῦ, ὀμπρὸς παρά, πρίχου

The *until*-group of conjunctions normally require subjunctive forms to be marked with νά, the *before*-group allow νά optionally; by contrast, the *when*- and *after/since*-groups regularly appear with "bare" subjunctives. Membership of the *while/as long as*-group is largely drawn from the *when*- and *until*-groups and individual conjunctions behave accordingly, with those belonging to both sets allowing both options.

3.4.1   Past-time Temporal Clauses Denoting Preceding/Overlapping Events

3.4.1.1   Preceding the Event Described in the Main Clause

"When/after/as soon as" + Aorist Indicative

ἐγὼ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πολλὰ ἠντεστάθην, <u>ὅταν</u> τὸ <u>ἤκουσα</u>

12th c./11th c., Νικον, *Logos* 9 314.5–6

καὶ <u>ἅμα τὸν εἶδα</u>, εἶπα τον, οὐδὲ ἐχαιρέτησά τον   15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 579

<u>ἀφότου ἐκατόρθωσεν</u> ὅσα σᾶς ἀφηγοῦμαι ... τὸ πνεῦμα του ἐπαρέδωκεν κι ἀπῆραν το οἱ ἀγγέλοι   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7801–4

<u>ὅσον ἀποσωρεύτησαν</u> μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι, ἀνοῖξαν τὰ προστάγματα καὶ ἀναγνώσανέ τα   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7856–7

<u>ὄντα</u> τὴν <u>ἐγόρασεν</u> ὁ αὐτὸς ρὲ Οὔνγκε τὴν Κύπρον ... ἦτον εἰς μεγάλην ἔννοιαν   16th c./15th c., Μαχαιρας, *Chron.* V 20.4–9

<u>ἀφὸν ἐφάγαν καὶ ἐπαρδιαβάσαν</u>, ἐκατέβησαν κάτω εἰς τὴν αὐλήν   16th c./15th c., Voustr., *Chron.* A 44.9

<u>σὰν ἐμίσεψε</u> ἀπὸ κεῖ ..., κιαμιᾶς λογῆς ἀνάπαψη δὲν ηὕρισκεν ἡ κόρη   18th c./16th–17th c., Kornaros, *Erot.* III.13–14

<u>ὡσὰν ἀπέρασεν</u> ἡ πρώτη ἡλικία τοῦ παιδός, τὸν πέμπει νὰ κατοικᾶ ἐκεῖ   17th c., Venetzas, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.33–5

Very occasionally the aorist indicative is used to indicate repeated events, though the imperfect indicative (overtly marking the incompleteness of the series) is the more regular choice in this function in the period covered by this Grammar:

Aorist

<u>ἂν ἔναιν καὶ ῥαθύμησεν</u>, ἔπεφτεν εἰς τὰ ἄνθη   15th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 525

Though the conjunction here is formally conditional, the sense is clearly "whenever".

Imperfect

χαρὰν μεγάλην εἴχασι διὰ νὰ ἔχουν πολεμήσει, ἐπεί, <u>ὅταν δὲν τούς ἄφηνε</u> νὰ ὑπᾶν νὰ πολεμήσουν, μεγάλην θλῖψιν εἴχασιν, ἦσαν ὡσὰν χαμένοι   16th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 9200–2

καὶ <u>ὅταν</u> τὸ (χρυσὸν δέντρον) <u>ἔκρουεν</u> ὁ ἄνεμος, ἔμμορφα ἐτραγούδειεν

15th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 536

<u>ὅταν ἐλειτούργαν</u>, ἐσυνλειτούργάν του οὐράνιος ἄγγελος   16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 366

<u>ὁπόταν ἐμίλουνε</u>, ἐφαινόντησαν σὰν τόσα τσουκάλια ὁπού νὰ ἔβραζαν

17th c., *Bertoldos* 6.11

δὲν ἄφηνεν κανέναν νὰ εἶναι πόρνος ... διότι, <u>τόμου νὰ ἀκούουνταν</u> ποθὲς ψιλὸς
λόγος, αὐτὸς πάραυτα νὰ τὸν κράξῃ, νὰ τὸν μαλώσῃ

17th c., PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §29.40–2

NOTES

(i) The pluperfect is occasionally used in later texts to emphasize anteriority:

καὶ <u>ὅταν ὁ Θεὸς εἶχεν κάμει τὸν κόσμον</u> εἶχαν πέσει (τὰ δαιμόνια) ἀπὸ τοὺς
οὐρανοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν   16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.28–30

(ii) Since what follows may be caused by what precedes, conjunctions meaning "after/
since (the time when)" may sometimes acquire the causal meaning of "since" (see
also 3.5, NOTE (iv)):

ὀλίγοι ἄνθρωποι ἠμποροῦν νὰ τὸ ἔχουσι φυλάττει (τὸ κάστρον), <u>ἀφῶν ἔχει</u>
σωτάρχισιν κ' ἔνι ἀφιρωμένον   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8273–4

οὖλον τὸν κόσμον θρέφει τον τὸ θάρος κ' ἐγὼ 'φότις ἐβίγλισα 'χ τὸν Πόθον ...
ἔχασά το   16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 109.19–22

(iii) The relative adverb (ἐκεῖ) ὅπου, lit. "(in the place) where", is sometimes also used
with a temporal/causal meaning "when/since"; this may carry a further nuance of
contrast with what has preceded:

ἀφῶν ὁ πρίγκιπας ἄρχισε γὰρ τὴν μάχην <u>ὅπου ὑπωμόσαμεν</u> οἱ δύο ἀγάπην νὰ
κρατοῦμεν, ἐκεῖνος ἔχει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4568–70

<u>ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἐκατέβαλα</u> καὶ <u>κατεσόφισά</u> τον τὸν χοῖρον τὸν κακότυχον ..., ἐσένα τί
σὲ ἤθελα νὰ εἶσαι εἰς ἐντροπήν μου   15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 464–6

(iv) Conversely, ἐστόντα(ς) καί and (in Cyprus) ἐστόντα καί or ἔχοντα(ς) καί, lit. "it being
the case"/"since", may also have temporal uses (see also 3.5):

<u>ἔχοντα καί</u> ἡ Ἁγία Ἑλένη <u>ηὗρεν</u> τὸν τίμιον σταυρόν, ἔβαλέν τον εἰς ἕναν νεκρόν

17th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 67.23–5

<u>ἐστόντα</u> τάπισα <u>καὶ ἐβγάλαν</u> τον ἔξω ἀπὸ τὸν πύργον, ὁ βασιλιὰς ἐποῖκεν νὰ τὸν
μάθουσιν τὴν ἁγίαν πίστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ   16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 150.14–16

(v) With ἐστόντα(ς) use of the aorist subjunctive to refer to the past as well as the non-past
is normal, though not obligatory (see Note (iv)):

οἱ ὁποῖοι ἄρχοντες ἔδωσάν με πέντε πῆχες, ἐγὼ δὲ <u>ἐστόντας</u> καὶ <u>νὰ ἔλθω</u> ἀπὸ τὴν
καθολικὴν ..., ηὕρηκα πῆχες εἴκοσι πέντε   17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 41–4

Ἐστόντας as a conjunction with past indicatives is probably therefore a secondary de-
velopment, the original structure being a tenseless absolute construction marked only for
aspect, "given X's performance of Y".

3.4.1.2   Overlapping with the Event Described in the Main Clause

"When/while/as long as" + Imperfect Indicative

αὐτός, <u>ὅνταν ἐμάνθανεν</u>, ὑπόδησιν οὐκ εἶχεν   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 60 app. crit. (P)

<u>ἐνόσῳ</u> εἰς μάχην <u>ἔστεκον</u> καὶ <u>ἐμέριζαν</u> τὴν νίκην, ἀφῆκαν τὸ νὰ μάχωνται καὶ εἰς ἕνα
λόγον ἦλθαν   16th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* S 1216–17 (Lambert-van der Kolf)

ἰσιάστη μὲ τὴν πριγκίπισσαν ..., <u>ἐνῶ ἐκράτει</u> τὸν τόπον του ἀπ' αὐτὴν κ' ἦτον κυρά
του, κι ἀπῆρε τὴν θυγάτηρ της   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7980–2

εἶχεν εἰς ἀβοερίαν αὐτοῦ τὸν Γγίον ντὲ λὰ Ρότζε <u>ἕως οὗ ἔζη</u> ἡ μητέρα του

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8043–4

<u>ὡς ἔστεκα</u> κ' <u>ἐθώρουν</u> τον, γυρίζει καὶ ὁμιλεῖ μου   16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 27

καὶ βασιλέως παιδὶν ἤμουν, ... καὶ <u>ὅσον ἀνετρέφουμουν</u>, ὑψώνασί με χρόνοι

16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 51–2

ἐγὼ <u>ὡσὰν ἐκείτομουν</u> εἰς τὸ κρεβάτι ἀσθενημένος ἄνοιξα τὰ μάτια μου καὶ ἔξαφνα
εἶδα ἕναν ἄνθρωπον   16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 107.14–15

οὐδὲ ἔλειψεν αὐτὸ τὸ φῶς <u>ἕως ὅτου ἔμενεν</u> ἐκεῖ ἡ Θεοτόκος

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 328.28–9

ἡ Μαρκόλφα τὸν εἶδεν <u>σὰν ἐγύριζεν</u> ἀπὸ τὴν χώραν   17th c., *Bertoldin.* 141.32–142.1

NOTES

(i) (ἐκεῖ) ὅπου, lit. "(in the place) where", is also used with an "overlapping" temporal
meaning, sometimes with a nuance of contrast, "whereas":

καὶ <u>ἐκεῖ ὁπού ἐδέοντον</u> τοῦ Θεοῦ νὰ δώσει βροχήν, τοὺς ἔπεμψε χαλάζιν μεγάλον
καὶ φοβερὸν   17th c., *Chron. 1619* 1149–50

3.4.2   Non-past Temporal Clauses Denoting Preceding/Overlapping Events

3.4.2.1   Preceding the Event Described in the Main Clause

"When/after/as soon as" + Aorist Subjunctive (single event or repeated events)

<u>ὅταν</u> ὁ κόραξ πούποτε <u>καθίσῃ</u> καὶ <u>φωνάξῃ</u>, ἐκεῖ σημαίνει θάνατον καὶ χωρισμὸν
ἀθρόον   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 20–1

τὸ δένδρον τὸ νεόφυτον ..., <u>ἀφοῦ ψυγῇ</u> παρὰ καιρόν, <u>ἀφοῦ φυλλορροήσῃ</u>, ... ἄλλο
ποτὲ οὐ βλαστήσει   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 223–5

πλὴν <u>ἀφ' οὗ</u> κάτω <u>κατεβῇς</u> ἐκ τ' ὀρεινὸν ἐκεῖνο, ... θέλεις ἀκούειν ἀπὸ μακρέα τῆς
Κακοδυστυχίας ἀνθρωποαναστενάγματα   14th c./13th c., *Log. parig.* L 145–8

μοναῦτα καὶ τὸν αὐτό μας ὁρισμὸ <u>περιλάβης</u>, νὰ ποίσης ... διαλαλημὸ καὶ ὁρισμὸ
ἀπὲ τῇ μερία μας   1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 3, 5.1–2

<u>ὅταν δώση</u> τὸν κακὸν του θάνατον ὁ Ἡρώδης, τότες νὰ σκοτώση ὅλους τοὺς
πρώτους   16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 337.7–9

κάθα <u>ὀντὲν ἔρθη</u> καράβι, ἔρχεται καὶ κάθεται καὶ κλαίει
            1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 3, 169.4–5

<u>ὁπότε ἔρτης</u> μὲ τὲς δύναμες ἐκεῖνες ... εἴμεστεν πρόθυμοι
            1618, Mani, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 24, 270.9

"When/after/as soon as" + Present Indicative (habitual/repeated events)

<u>μόλις τοὺς δίδομεν</u> ψωμίν, ... εὐθὺς μὲ πάσαν προθυμιὰν εὐρίσκουνται δηνέρια
            15th–16th c./15th c., BERTOS, Eis evd. aion. 63–8

ἀπὸ τοῦτα τὰ δέντρα ἡμποροῦμεν νὰ εὐρίσκωμεν τὰ σύνορα, <u>ὁπότε τὰ χαλάει</u> τὸ
ποτάμι   1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 450.18

παρακαλῶ τῇ πανιερότη σου νὰ μοῦ θυμᾶσαι ..., <u>ὁπότα βρίσκεις</u> πατσάτσο, νὰ μοῦ
πέβης γραφή   1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.6–7

NOTES

(i)   In more colloquial styles, clauses of this type occasionally lack an overt conjunction
(in the manner of conditional clauses more generally, see 3.3). The subject is
always omitted (i.e. understood as coreferential with that of the main verb) and
the effect is rather like that of an infinitive marked for aspect but not for tense (see
Rule (36)):

πρόσεξε ..., <u>νὰ σέβης</u> εἰς τὸ κάστρον, πῶς στήκει   14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8214–15

"take note, on entering the castle, of how it is laid out"

3.4.2.2   Overlapping with the Event Described in the Main Clause

"When/while/as long as" + Present Indicative/Subjunctive

καὶ ἂν θέλουν τρώγειν οἱ δεκατρεῖς τοὺς δώδεκα μοδίους, ... τί τοὺς οὐ θάπτω <u>ὡσότε</u>
<u>ζῶ</u> καὶ φεύγω ἀπὸ τὴν Πόλιν ... ;   14th c./12th c., Ptoch. II 26.9–26.11 app. crit. (H)

<u>ὡς ποτε ζῆς</u>, βεβαιώθησε καὶ γνώριζε ἀπ' ἐμέναν, τῆς Τύχης τὸ κακόγνωμον οὐ θέλεις
ἀποφύγειν   14th c./13th c., Log. parig. L 100–1

βουλὴν ἀπῆρα ... ποτὲ νὰ μὴ τὴν στρέψω <u>ὡσότι στέκη</u> ἡ ψυχὴ ἐπάνω εἰς
τὸ κορμί μου   15th c./14th c., Pol. Tr. 1410–13

μὲ δάκρυα πάντα νὰ σὲ κλαίω, <u>ἔστα νὰ ζῶ</u> εἰς τὸν κόσμον
            15th c./14th c., Pol. Tr. 4274 app. crit. (X)

λοιπὸν κι ἐσεῖς τὴν νιότη σας χαίρεστεν <u>ὡστε ζεῖτε</u>   16th c., Kakop. 185

τὸ ἕτερον ἥμισον νὰ πάρη ἡ λεγομένη κερὰ Θεόκλητη, νὰ τὸ ἔχη <u>ἕως ὁπού νὰ ζῇ</u>
            1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.23–4

ὅμως εἶναι δύσκολον νὰ ἀποθάνη τινὰς χωρὶς νὰ ἔβγη ἡ ψυχή του, καὶ <u>ὥστε νὰ ἔναι</u>
ἡ ψυχή του μέσα του δὲν εἶναι ἀποθαμένος 17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, Klini 165.15–17

ὁ ποῖος ἀφέντης παπᾶς νὰ μπορῆ νὰ 'χη τὰ μνημόσυνα καὶ τσὶ συνηθικὲς ἑορτές ...,
<u>ἕως νὰ μπορῆ</u> νὰ ἱερουργᾷ στὸ ἄνωθεν μοναστήρι
            1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 107, 122.11–13

εἶναι πολλὰ ἀναπαμένον τὸ μοναστήρι ἀπὸ λόγου του, καὶ <u>ὅσον ζεῖ</u> δὲν θέλουν ...
ἄλλον   1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.41–3

τὰ ἑξῆς νὰ στέκεται ἡ αὐτὴ ἀλλαξιὰ <u>ὥστε</u> ὁ ἥλιος <u>φέγγει</u>
            1640, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 200, 168.20

<u>ὄντε ξημερώνει</u>, ἅμε ὀμπροστὰς τοῦ βασιλέως   17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas. 42.5–6

τὸ πρᾶμα του νὰ εἶναι εἰς τὸ χέριν της νὰ τὸ κρατῇν ... <u>ὥσποτε ζεῖν</u>
            1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 181.12–14

<u>ὡς ὅποτα ζῶ</u> νὰ γρικέται ἀνάμεσά μας καὶ τῶν ἐδυονῶ <u>ὡς ὁπότα ζῶ</u> καὶ
ἀποθάνοντάς μου νὰ 'ναι πάλι ἐδική του   1731, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1972: 18, 287.13

3.4.3   Past/Non-past Temporal Clauses Denoting Following Events

3.4.3.1   Containing Subjunctives

"Until" + Aorist Subjunctive (single event)

οἱ Τοῦρκοι οὐδὲν ἀνάμειναν <u>ἕως οὗ νὰ κατουνέψουν</u>   14th c., Chron. Mor. H 5260

βούλεται νὰ ἔχη βάλλει φύλαξιν ... <u>ἕως οὗ νὰ</u> τὸ <u>ἔχη ἐπάρει</u>
            14th c., Chron. Mor. H 2899–900

ὥμοσαν νὰ μὴ κοιμηθοῦν <u>ἐστάνε ἐξημερώση</u>   15th c./14th c., Pol. Tr. 439 app. crit. (A)

ὡς ἤκουσε ταύτας τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, ἀργὸν πολλὰ τοῦ ἐφαίνετον, <u>ἕως ὅτου νὰ</u>
<u>ὑποστρέψη</u> ὀπίσω εἰς τὸ καράβιν του, νὰ ὑπάγη τὴν ὁδόν του
            15th c./14th c., Pol. Tr. 1444–6

ἐκεῖ τὴν ἔδοξεν τὸ νὰ κρυβῇ τὴν γραῖαν <u>ἔστ' ἂν νὰ ποίση</u> τὸ κακὸν
            16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 1249–50

κι οὐκ ἤθελον ν' ἀφήσουσιν τοὺς Φράγκους νὰ περάσουν, <u>ὅσον νὰ ἐκπληρώσουσιν</u>
τὲς συμφωνίες ἐκεῖνες   16th c./14th c., Chron. Mor. P 409–10

ἐστάθην δυνατός, <u>ὡσώσπου νὰ διαβῇ</u> τὸ πρᾶμαν
            16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 10.4–5

πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐσκότωσαν ἀπὸ τὸ φουσάτον, <u>ὥσθε νὰ φθάση</u> ὁ πόλεμος τοῦ
Ἀλεξάνδρου   16th c., Diig. Alex. F 14.22–3 (Konstantinopulos)

ἀποὺ τὸ ρέστος, <u>ὥστε νὰ σώσου</u> στὰ ὑπέρπυρα ρπα', νὰ δώσουν ἐκεινῶν ὁποὺ τὴν
θέλου καλογερέψει καὶ μνημονευτεῖ καὶ θαφτεῖ
            1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 92, 108.17–18

ὁπλεγάρεται ὁ λεγόμενος κυρ-Ἀντώνης νὰ τοῦ δίδη κρασὶ ... <u>ἕως νὰ</u> τοῦ <u>δώση</u> τὰ
ὑπέρπυρα ρν'   1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 256, 251.5–6

ἔτζι πάντα ἐδῶ ἐζήσαμεν εἰς εἰρήνη, <u>ὥστε ποὺ</u> ὁ ἐχθρὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου <u>νὰ σπείρῃ</u> το
ζιζάνιο   1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.8–9

ἀποσφώνιαξέ την (σκίλλαν) καλὰ εἰς τὸ ξύδι, <u>ἕως νὰ μὴν ἔχῃ</u> πλέον τινὰ ὑγρότητα
17th c., LANDOS, *Geopon.* 187.25–6

εἶμαι δοῦλός σου, <u>ὡς ὅπου νὰ ποθάνω</u>
17th–18th c./17th c., KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 161

"Until" + Present Subjunctive (usually of future/modal auxiliaries, rarely progressive)

ἀφίνω νὰ ἔχῃ ὁ Δημήτριος τὴν διοίκησιν του ἀπὸ τὸ μοναστήριν <u>ὡσότε νὰ θέλῃ</u>
<u>ἐξελθεῖν</u> νὰ ὑπάγῃ εἰς τὸν αὐθέντην μου τὸν βασιλέαν
ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.58–9

νὰ τὸ περιφυλάττῃ ... <u>ἕως ὁποῦ νὰ ἔρχωνται</u> πατέρες ἀπὸ τὴν ἄνωθεν μονὴν
1660, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969j: 1, 140.10–12

"let him continue to keep it until priests are coming from the above monastery"

"Before" + Aorist Subjunctive (single event; more rarely repeated/generic)

<u>πρὶν</u> τὴν <u>εὑρῇς</u> (τὴν τύχην), ἐχάσες την, <u>πρὶν</u> τὴν <u>ἰδῇς</u>, ὑπάγει
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 206

ἂν ἔπταισας, εἰπέ το, <u>πρὶν σὲ καταδεσμήσωσι</u> καὶ <u>χάσῃς</u> τὰ νερά σου
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 536–7

<u>πρὶν</u> τὸ <u>πιάσω</u> χάνεται καὶ φεύγει ἐκ τὸ σκουτέλλιν   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. IV* 242

ἦρταν ... εἰς τὴν Λευκουσίαν ἀπεζά, <u>πρὶν νὰ ξημερώσῃ</u>
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 16.9–10

καὶ ξεφορτώσου τὰ κακά, <u>πρίχου νὰ</u> σὲ <u>φονεύσου</u>   16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 118

<u>ὀμπρὸς παρὰ νὰ γεννηθῇ</u> ὁ Χριστὸς ἐφάνησαν ἀπάνω εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τρεῖς ἥλιοι καὶ
τρία φεγγάρια   16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 334.12–13

μίσσεψε ... <u>πρὶ</u> σὲ <u>δῇ</u>   17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* I.241

<u>προτοῦ σώσῃ</u> ἐκεῖ, τὸν εἶχε φθονήσει ἡ γυναίκα του καὶ ὁ υἱός του καὶ τὸν
ἐσκοτώσανε   17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.29–31

<u>πρὶν νὰ σώσῃ</u> εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ηὗρε τζακισμένον τὸν Μπαγιαζίτη
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.32–3

NOTES

(i) In Cyprus *until*-conjunctions are sometimes used to mean "before":

ἐξωδίασεν πεντακόχιες χιλιάδες ὀνομίσματα <u>ὡς που νὰ</u> τοὺς (γιοὺς) <u>φέρῃ</u>
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 76.13–14

"he had spent 500,000 bezants before he recovered his sons"

<u>ὡς που νὰ φάγῃ</u> ὁ Δημήτρης, ἔγραψεν ἡ ρήγαινα χαρτίν
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 412.5–6

"before Dimitris finished eating, the queen wrote a letter"

(ii) πρὸ μή(ν) (νά) is sometimes used when there is a nuance of "precaution" or
"prevention":

ἦρταν ὁ<μ>πρός, <u>πρὸ μὴν ἔρτῃ</u> τὸ καράβι μὶ τὰ ροῦχα τους
1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 52.28–9

3.4.3.2   Containing Past Indicatives (in Past Time Only)

"Until"

ἠντεστάθην ..., <u>ἕως οὖ ἐπόνεσα</u> καὶ <u>ηὗρα</u> τὰς θείας γραφὰς μαρτυροῦντας
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.5–7

ἀτός του ἐστάθηκεν ἐκεῖ ... <u>ἕως οὖ</u> καὶ <u>ἐπληρώθηκεν</u> τὸ κάστρον
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7999–8000

ἀφέντεψεν, ἀφ' ὃν ἐστέφθην <u>ὡς που</u> καὶ <u>ἐπέθανεν</u>, λθ΄ χρόνους
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 58, 60.36, 1–2

ἔτρεχα <u>ὥστε</u> κ' <u>ἐτσάκισε</u> τὸ σταύρωμαν ἡ μέρα   16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 12

οὐδὲν ἐλεῖψαν ἀποκεῖ, <u>ὥστε ποὺ τελειώθη</u>   16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 596

ἀνέμειναν <u>ἕως ὁποῦ ἔφθασεν</u> ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἐγέννησεν ἡ βασίλισσα
16th c., *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 75.26–7

ἐγὼ δὲν τὸ ἐπίστευα <u>ὥστε ὁποῦ ἐπῆγα</u> εἰς τὸν τίμιον σταυρόν
17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 61–2

3.4.4   Other Types of Temporal Clause

3.4.4.1   Nominalized Verb Forms

**(36) A nominalized perfective/aorist infinitive or a nominalized finite clause
containing an aorist subjunctive marked with νά may be used to mean "on
[X] doing Y", i.e. as broadly equivalent to a temporal clause introduced by a
conjunction meaning "when", "after", "as soon as" but marked only for aspect
(with perfective aspect naturally interpreted as denoting a preceding event).**

The tenselessness of subjunctives in this construction follows directly from the inherent
tenselessness of the infinitives for which they are substituted; both denote actions outside
the temporal framework of this world and acquire a time reference secondarily, through
their relation to the time of the event denoted by the main verb.

The subject position of an infinitive in this construction may be controlled by the subject
of the main verb if the two elements are coreferential. Alternatively, the infinitive may
have an overt nominative subject of its own, which may or may not be coreferential with
the subject of the main verb. If the infinitival subject is coreferential with the main-clause
subject, the latter is omitted (i.e. understood as having the content of the appropriate pro-
noun); if it is not coreferential, an overt subject is obligatory unless the verb is impersonal.

When a single nominative subject is placed between an infinitive and a main verb it is
often impossible to decide which of the two verbs it properly belongs to.

τό + Infinitive

εὐθὺς <u>τὸ ἰδεῖν</u> ὁ Διγενής, τὴν κόρην συντυχαίνει   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 934

<u>τὸ ἀκούσειν</u> τὸ ὄνομαν <u>ὁ Χρόνος</u> ἐκ τὸν ξένον, ὥσπερ ἐκράτει τὸ χαρτίν, γοργὸν τὸ
    ἀποτυλίσσει   14th c./13th–14th c., *Log. parig.* L 93–4

<u>τὸ λάβει</u> τὰ πιττάκια, ... ἀνοῖξαν τὰ προστάγματα καὶ ἀναγνώσανέ τα
                            14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7855–7

<u>τὸ ἀκούσει</u> ὁ Ροῦσος ντὲ Σουλῆ ..., εὐθέως ἐσυγκατέβηκεν κ' ἰσιάστησαν εἰς τοῦτο
                            14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7927–8

<u>τὸ ἰδεῖ</u> τον <u>ὁ μισὶρ Ντζεφρές</u>, γλυκέα τὸν ἀποδέχτη   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8231

<u>τὸ ἔλθει ἡ πρωτοστρατόρισσα</u>, ὁ πρίγκιπας τῆς λέγει   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7703

καὶ <u>τὸ ἰδεῖν ὁ βούβαλος</u> ἐσέβη εἰς τὴν μέσην   15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 1028

ἐγὼ <u>τὸ δεῖν</u> ἐτρόμαξα   16th c./15th c., Bergadis, *Apok.* V 53

τό + νά-clause

<u>τὸ νὰ</u> τὸν <u>ἴδη</u> ὁ ἀμιράς, πιάνει, καταφιλεῖ τον   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 594

<u>τὸ ν' ἀργήση</u> λεῖ (ὁ πάγος) ..., καὶ χολλιάζουνται τυφλοὶ καὶ θεραπεύουνται
                            16th c./15th c., Machairas, *Chron.* V 34.7–8

<u>τὸ νὰ δεῖ ὁ φρὲ Γιλίαμ</u> πῶς ἔλειψεν ὁ Περρὴς ..., ἐννοιάστην πῶς ἐπῆγεν νὰ ποίση
    νώση   16th c./15th c., Voustr., *Chron.* A 58.17–18

<u>τὸ νὰ ξημερώση</u>, ἦρτεν ὁ Φανὴς ... εἰς τὸ σπίτιν τοῦ Τζωρτή
                            16th c./15th c., Voustr., *Chron.* A 60.4–5

<u>τὸ νὰ</u> τὸ <u>δῶ</u> (τὸ λάφιν), τὸ δόξευα κ' εἶχα το σκοτωμένον
                            16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 46

ἔγραψε ὁ Ὀκτάβιος τοῦ Ἡρώδου ὅτι, παρευθὺς <u>τὸ νὰ ἰδῆ</u> τὸν ὁρισμόν του, νὰ ἔλθη
    εἰς τὴν Ρώμην   16th c., Kartanos, *P&N Diath.* 341.27–9

NOTE

(i) A few examples in later texts have aorist indicatives with or without νά. These appear
    to involve adaptations of the above in line with the form/sense of corresponding
    temporal clauses:

    <u>τὸ{ν} νὰ</u> τὸ <u>ἐγέννησεν</u> (τὸ παιδί), ἐστάθηκε ὀρθὸ εἰς τὰ ποδάρια του
                            16th c., Kartanos, *P&N Diath.* 335.6–7

    <u>τὸ ἤκουσε ὁ Ταμερλάνος</u>, τοῦ ἐκακοφάνη πολλά ... νὰ παίρνη τὴν ἀφεντία τους
                            17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.10–12

3.4.4.2   Gerunds

**(37) A gerund (or an inflected participle) may perform the role of a temporal
clause in describing situations that precede or overlap with the event
described in the main clause; in the absence of a conjunction the exact
temporal force has to be determined pragmatically from the context.**

Inflected participles apart from the perfect passive are all but obsolete in vernacular
LMedG and often poorly controlled (at least by ancient standards). Their use indicates a
higher register and/or an official context (especially legal), and in their role as stylistically
marked variants of gerunds they mainly follow the syntax of the latter in not allowing
their subjects, overt or covert, to be coreferential with non-subjects in main clauses. But
whereas gerunds are always active in form and meaning, participles may be either active
or mediopassive. Mediopassive participles are particularly useful in the absence of a cor-
responding gerundial option, though many common deponent verbs (those with mediopas-
sive morphology but active meanings) do form active gerunds: ἔρχοντας, φαίνοντας etc.

Accordingly, gerunds/participles function prototypically as active "subject-orientated
adjuncts", i.e. with a missing subject understood to be coreferential with the subject of
the main verb, or as "absolute constructions", i.e. with an overt subject of their own that is
referentially distinct from that of the main verb. In practice, however, the two subjects are
often coreferential, and in this respect gerundial/participial constructions follow the model
of temporal clauses, cf. the non-coreferential subjects of *after X did this, Y did that* with
the (optionally) coreferential subjects of *after X did this, s/he (= X) did that*, or *after s/he
(= X) did this, X did that*.

When the subject of a gerund is coreferential with that of the main verb, therefore, the
subject position is either empty and controlled by the main-verb subject (i.e. the two are
automatically understood to corefer), or it is filled with a nominative subject to form an
"improper" absolute construction, with the main-verb subject omitted and its pronominal
content supplied by agreement morphology on the verb. Ideally, participles in this con-
struction agree with the main-clause subject in number, gender and case (nominative) and
their subject position is controlled, though various deviations from this norm are attested.

When the subject of a gerund is not coreferential with the main-verb subject, the posi-
tion is filled unless the verb is impersonal; the subject may be nominative (making a true
nominative absolute), or, in deference to ancient practice, genitive (making a genitive abso-
lute), but genitive clitic pronouns are standard in the absence of nominative clitics (τος has
a very restricted distribution). Ideally, inflected participles agree with their own subjects
in number, gender and case (nominative or genitive), though again there are deviations.
The subject of a genitive absolute, like that of a nominative absolute, may in practice be
coreferential with that of the main clause.

The negative is either οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν or μή(ν) according to whether the writer is follow-
ing the functional parallel with temporal clauses (where οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν is used with past/
present indicatives) or the participial tradition (where μή(ν) had been the standard negator
since Late Antiquity); the former is the normal option.

Perfective gerunds/participles are normally understood to denote an event taking place
before that of the main clause, imperfective forms as denoting eventualities (at least partly)
contemporaneous with the main-clause event, but perfective forms are in decline in the
later period covered by this Grammar and imperfective forms are often used in an aspec-
tually neutral way.

Nominative Subject (± control by/coreferentiality with main-clause subject)

διαβόντα γὰρ μικρὸς καιρός, ἀπέθανε ἡ κουντέσσα   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8001

ἀκούσοντά το οἱ ἄρχοντες, ... μεγάλως τὸ ἀνεχάρησαν   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 351–4

ὁ καστελλᾶνος παρευτύς, οὐ μὴ σκοπῶντα δόλον, ... ὑποσχήθη του νὰ τὸν δεχτῇ
                                          14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8237–8

ἐκεῖνος δὲ δεξάμενος τῆς κόρης τὸ πιτάκιν, ἀνέθαλλεν ἡ ψυχίτσα του, ἐχάρηκεν
μεγάλως   15th–16th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 1110–11

ἐμόσαν του ὁ σὶρ Φίλιππε τε Ἰμπελὴν ... καὶ ὁ μισὲρ Τζουὰν Ταπιέρ, καθὼς ἐποῖκαν
οἱ δελοιποὶ ἀφέντες, θέλοντα καὶ μὴ θέλοντα
                                          16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 56.26–8

πηγαίννοντα ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πάπα, πολλὰ ἐκατηγορῆσαν τοὺς Κυπριῶτες
                                          16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 296.9–10

γροικῶντα ὁ κουβερνούρης τὸ κακὸν θέλημαν τοῦ πάπα, ἐξανάστρεψεν ἄλλους
μαντατοφόρους   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 296.13–15

σιμώνοντας ἡ ὥρα νὰ γεννηθῇ ὁ Χριστός, ἦλθεν ἀπὸ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς μέγα φῶς
                                          16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.7–9

ὁ γάιδαρος, ἰδῶντας τοῦτο, ἐκατηγόρησεν τότε τὸ ἄλογο πολλά
                                          16th c., NOUKIOS, *Ais. Myth.* 53.6–7

ἐτοῦτα λέγοντας ἡ Παρθένος Μαρία τῆς ἡγουμένης, φαίνεται πῶς τήνε παίρνει καὶ
πάγει τηνε εἰς ἕναν τόπον σκοτεινόν   17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 235.12–13

ἐλθόντος ἡ ὥρα, ἐστηκώθη τὸ φουσᾶτον νὰ πηγαίνη
                                          17th c./?16th c., *Vios Filaret.* 241.38–9

νὰ ἐμπορῇς ἀπὸ 'δὰ νὰ σοτοσκριβέρης τοῦτο τὸ χαρτὶ ἀπὸ τὸν ... αὐθέντη δούκα,
φυλαζόμενα ἄλλα ὁπού σοῦ χρεωστῶ
                                          1549, Crete, MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005: 141, 141.7–8

καὶ τὸ ἄλλον ἡμισὸ [νὰ παίρνου]ν οἱ κοπιαστάδες, ἀβοηθῶντας ἡ προειρημένη
κυράτζα Σταμάτα στὴν φύτευσιν   1573, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 2, 21.8–9

πᾶσα γνωστικὸς ἄνθρωπος, δὲ κατέχοντας πότες ἔχει νὰ τοῦ ἔλθη αὐτὸς ὁ θάνατος,
πρέπει καὶ τυχαίνει νὰ ὁρδινιαστῇ   1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 14, 35.5–6

ἰδόντας αὐτά, οἱ γιανιτζάροι του ἐφύγανε καὶ ἐδιάβησαν μὲ τὸν ἀδελφό του
                                          17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 44.28–9

περνῶντας λοιπόν ... καλὰ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ ... πετῶντες πολλοὶ εἰς τοὺς
οὐρανούς, ἀνασταίνεται ἕνας βασιλέας εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν χώραν
                                          17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 31.26–9

τὸ δὲ ... γένος τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐπρόκοπτε ..., δὲν λογιάζοντες ... τὴν γνώμην τοῦ
βασιλέως, μηδὲ φοβούμενοι τοὺς φοβερισμούς του
                                          17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 32.3–5

Genitive Subject (± coreferentiality with main-clause subject)

ὡς ἔνι θεοῦ θέλημα, ἂς γίνεται, ὅτι ..., συνεργοῦντος μου τοῦ Κυρίου, αὐτὰ εἶν τὸ
ἔργον μου   12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.27–9

τοῦτο δὲ κἀμοῦ ἀκούσαντος, ἀπόστειλα γραφὴν εἰς τὸν ἡγούμενον
                                          ?1125, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 18, 417.4

τοῦ γάμου λυομένου, ἂς τρέφουνται τὰ παιδιὰ ἀπὸ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ πατρικά
                                          ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 232.195

οἱ συγγενεῖς του ἐγένοντο, καὶ μὴ θέλων τοῦ δούκα   15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1025 app. crit.

θανατικοῦ γενομένου ... καὶ φαμιλικῶς εὑρισκομένων εἰς κάστρον ἐν τῶν ἐκεῖσε
κεφαλατεύοντες ..., ἀπέθανε ... τὸ παιδὶν καὶ ... ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ... ἡ μήτηρ
αὐτοῦ   16th c./15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 12.1–8

τὸ χάρισμα ὁπόχω 'γὼ δὲ θέλω νὰ τὸ κρύψω, ζῶντα μου θέλω κανενὸς νὰ τοῦ τ'
ἀποκαλύψω   16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 276–6B

καθεζομένης τῆς Ἀφεντίας, ὑπῆγε καὶ ἐπροσκύνησεν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ γράμμα τοῦ
μπάίλου τοῦ Γαλατᾶ ἔδειξεν   16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 15–17

καὶ τὴν ἕτερην ἀποληφθὲν ἀπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν νὰ τήνε μοιράζουν ἐφ' ἡμισίας ὁ υἱός του ...
μὲ τὸν ἄγκονά του ..., ἀποτυχόντας (σ)του τοῦ προειρημένου κὺρ Ἀλίσαντρου
                                          1579, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 5, 23.14–16

μὴ ἔρχοντάς τους στὸ ἄνωθεν τέρμενον, νὰ ἠμποροῦν οἱ κριτάδες ν' ἀποφασίσουν
διὰ γνώμη τους   1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 135, 89.2–3

ἀποθανόντας τοῦ καλογέρου, ν' ἀπομένη τὸ λεγόμενο ἀμπέλι στὰ παιδιὰ τοῦ
ἄνωθεν Λιγνοῦ   1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 92, 108.10–11

ὅποιος ἀγαπᾶ ἐμένα ζῶντ(ας) μου, ἕνα τους παρακαλῶ, ν' ἀγαποῦσι τὴν μάνα μου
καὶ τὰ παιδιά μου δέκα   1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.144–5

κάθοντά σου εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν, γελᾶς ἢ συντυχαίνεις;
                                          17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: Α, 406.389

NOTES

(i) According to context, a gerundial clause may take on causal or circumstantial nuances, as expected.

(ii) In colloquial texts a missing subject may sometimes not be linked directly to the main-clause subject and a commonsense interpretation is required; e.g. in the following the subject of the gerund is coreferential with the subject of a subordinate clause:

παγαίνοντας εἰς τὸ σπίτι του, ... ἀπὸ τὸ σακούλι, ὅπου ἔβαλε τὸ κεφάλι, ἔτρεχεν
αἷμα!   16th c., DIONYS., *Istor.* 253.23–4

3.5   Causal Clauses

(38) Causal clauses are introduced by conjunctions meaning "because" or "since" and contain past/present indicative or future/modal verb forms according to the sense required.

In real (past/present) time the action or situation described in a causal clause must precede or overlap with the eventuality that it provides a cause or reason for.

But a causal clause may also represent a motivating belief held at the time of speaking about what will/would happen in the future as a *consequence* of the main-clause event (see NOTE (ii) below for EMG examples).

Typical LMedG/EMG causal conjunctions are:

"because": ὅτι, διότι, διατό, διοῦ; διατί/(ὀ)γιατί

"since": ἐπεί/ἐπειδή(τις), ἔσ(τ)οντας (νά, ὁπού/πού), στάντες (νά, καί νά).

The conjunctions ὅτι and διότι "because" are used throughout the period of this Grammar; the second, in origin, is a clarification of the former involving prefixation of δι(ά) "because of".

As often happens cross-linguistically, διατί "why" (retained alongside its later development γιατί) also came to mean "because".

Ἔσ(τ)οντας and στάντες (in use alongside the traditional ἐπεί/ἐπειδή "since") are in origin gerunds of the verb "be", first used in tenseless absolute constructions containing νά-subjunctives marked only for aspect, "[X's performance of Y] being the case". Subsequently they came to be used with tensed indicative forms, in the case of ἔστοντας often in combination with ὁπού (and occasionally with retention of νά), "it being the case that [X happens/happened]". From this, it was a simple step to reinterpretation as a conjunction meaning "since", "given that".

"Because"

ὡς τὸ ἤκουσα ὁ δοῦλος σου χαρᾶς πολλῆς ἐπλήσθην, <u>ὅτι</u> ἡ κοιλιά μου <u>ηὐκαίρησεν</u>
ἀπὸ τὴν ἀφαγίαν   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 258–9

χθὲς ἐν αὐτῷ ἐσφάξαμεν ἡδονικὰ κοράσια, <u>διότι οὐδὲν ἠθέλασιν</u> ὡσὰν τὰς ἐλαλοῦμαν
15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 72–3

καὶ ἐπλάκωσεν τὸν λαὸν ... <u>ὅτι ἐξήχυσεν</u> ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ ἔπνιξεν χιλιάδας ν' καὶ β'
1326, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 41, 93.7–9

οὐκ ἠμπορῶ σᾶς γράψει, <u>διατὶ βαρειῶμαι</u> γράφει τα διὰ τὴν πολυγραφίαν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7802–3

ὅλοι τὸν θέλουσι γελᾶ, ... <u>διότι ἐστράφη</u> ἄνεργος, τὴν ἔξοδόν του <u>ἐχάσε</u>
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8185–6

οἱ βοσκοὶ ... ἀσηκώθησαν ἀπάνω, συχυσμένοι <u>διότι ἐκοιμοῦνταν</u>
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 332.12–14

ἡ ... Μακαρία Κουκάκαινα ... εὑρίσκεται ἀχαμνά, <u>διατὶ ἔναι</u> γερόντισσα
1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.2–4

ὁ πατέρας του δὲν τὸν ἐδέχτη, <u>διατὶ ἐφοβάτονε</u> ἀπὸ τὸν σουλτὰν Μουράτη
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.26–7

παρακαλῶ τὴν πανιερότη σου νὰ μοῦ τσὶ στείλῃς τσὶ τάβλες, <u>ὀγιατὶ</u> μοῦ <u>κάνουσι</u>
μεγάλη χρεία   1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.24–5

νὰ μοῦ στείλῃς δύο ὡρολόγια ... <u>ὅτι μὲ χρειάζονται</u> γιὰ τὰ παιδιά μου
1697, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 37, 226.11–13

"Since"

<u>ἐπεὶ</u> ... τοῦ τόπου τὰ συνήθεια <u>ὁρίζουν</u> ὅτι ὁ πρίγκιπας, ... σωματικῶς νὰ
ἀπέρχεται ἐντὸς τοῦ πριγκιπάτου   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7880–3

ἔκαμε καὶ ἔκαμάν του ἄλλην εἰς τύπωσιν ..., <u>ἐπειδὴ</u> αὐτὸς <u>ἔναι</u> μεγαλύτερος βασιλεύς
παρὰ ὅλους   16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.17–21

ἔστειλεν ἔξοδες καὶ κάτεργα ὁ πάπας ..., <u>ἔσοντας ὁπού</u> πολλὲς φορὲς τὸ <u>ἐβουλήθησαν</u>
(να γένει ἡ ἕνωσις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν)   17th c./16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1631) 229.40–2

τοῦ ἐκακοφάνη πολλά, <u>ἔσοντας νὰ εἶναι</u> ὅλοι μίας πίστης
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.11–12

<u>στάντες καὶ</u> ... <u>νὰ μὴν ἔχω</u> νὰ δώσω   1614, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 219, 206.15–6

<u>στάντες νὰ 'χε</u> γυναῖκα <u>ἐπαρμένη</u>   1628, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 2, 333.16

νὰ μὴν ἔχῃ ἐξουσίαν ... κανένας ... νὰ τοὺς ἐνοχλήσῃ, <u>ἔστοντας ὁπού ἔγινε</u> μὲ κοινὴν
γνώμην καὶ βουλὴν πάντων τῶν καθηγουμένων
1661, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 71, 200.13–15

θέλω τὸν ἐγκαλέσειν εἰς τὴν ὥραν τῆς κρίσεως, <u>ἐπειδὴ</u> καὶ <u>ἀφιέρωσά</u> το διὰ ψυχικὴν
μου σωτηρίαν   1683, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 18, 45.8–10

κανένας δὲν ἀπεκοτοῦσε νὰ φανερωθῇ, <u>ἔστοντας</u> ἐκεῖνοι οἱ φοβεροὶ πειράτες <u>νὰ</u>
<u>ἐστεκόντασι</u> μὲ τὸ σπαθὶ στὸ χέρι   18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 22.9–11

<u>ἐπειδήτις</u> καὶ <u>δὲν ἠξεύρει</u> νὰ γράφῃ   1706, Zakynthos, ZOIS 1941: 1, 110.31

NOTES

(i) With verbs of emotion ὅτι, διότι, γιατί etc. come close to introducing complements,
cf. *I am angry because/that* ... :

τὸν αὐθεντόπουλόν μου συγχαίρομαι <u>ὅτι ηὐτύχησεν</u> καὶ <u>ἐκέρδησεν</u> βρεφόθεν
?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.1v.18–20

τὰ ροῦχα ... μέρτσα τὰ ἔλαβα καὶ κρῖμα εἰς τὸν κόπον ... <u>γιατὶ ἐβγῆκε</u> πολλὰ
ἀχαμνό   1696, Ochrid, MERTZIOS 1947a: 9, 214.10–12

(ii) A natural extension is the substitution of factive ὁπού "in so far as" in later texts when
the cause/reason is regarded as true (though many of the clauses in question can also
be treated as relatives, see 5.3.3):

νὰ ἐβγοῦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἀνόλπιδου χρέους, <u>ὁπού δὲν ἔχομεν</u> ... ἀλλοῦ
ἐλπίδα   1583, ?Athens, MERTZIOS 1954: 1, 124.28–9

θωρῶντας τον καὶ λυπῶντας τον <u>ὁπού ἤτονε</u> εἰς τὴ φυλακή
1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 752, 652–653.4–6

καὶ ἴτα νὰ τὸν ἐδεκτῶ ἐγὼ νὰ τοῦ κάμω ἡ γι-ἀνήπορη, <u>ὁπού</u> ... ἴτα <u>εἶχα</u> ἐγὼ <u>γίνει</u>
στὸ κόσμο;   1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.15–16

(iii) Since there is a temporal relation between causes/reasons and main-clause events,
and since καὶ is regularly used to link clauses denoting events that follow one another

in time, καί is often used to conjoin clauses that stand in a causal relationship in place of formal subordination, especially in more colloquial styles. Some degree of grammaticalization appears to be involved given the adaptation of καί to ὀκαί to resemble a "true" conjunction:

τὰ ποκάμισα ..., μὴν ἔχῃς καμίαν ἔγνοια, <u>ὀκαί</u> ... <u>θέλω</u> σου τα <u>πέψει</u>

> 1498, Crete, Manoussacas 1976: 3, 21.15–16

μηδὲν πέψῃς ἄτυχους (μαντατοφόρους) <u>καὶ χάσῃς</u> πολλά

> 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 22.35–6

ἀπὸ πτωχὸν μὴ δανεισθῆς <u>καὶ κλαίει καὶ ἀκολουθᾷ</u> σε!   16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 44

ἂς πάμενε, συντρόφισσες, <u>κ' ἐπέρασε</u> ἡ ὥρα   17th–18th c./17th c., *Zinon* Prol. 168

(iv) Conjunctions normally introducing other types of adverbial clause are occasionally used causally, e.g. ἀφῶν/ἀφόν etc., lit. "after", or ἅμα etc., lit. "as soon as" (cf. 3.4.1), καθὼς etc., lit. "as" (cf. 3.7):

ὀλίγοι ἄνθρωποι ἠμποροῦν νὰ τὸ (κάστρο) ἔχουσι φυλάττει, <u>ἀφῶν</u> ἔχει

σωτάρχισιν κ' <u>ἔνι ἀφιρωμένον</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8273–4

ἔθελέν τους ἀξαμινιάσειν ἐκεῖνος μὲ τὸν βισκούντην, <u>καθὼς ἦσαν</u> κλησιαστικοί

> 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 32.7–8

<u>ἅμα</u> σὲ <u>ἀπάντησα</u> ἐδῶ, κάνει χρεία νὰ σὲ πάρω   16th c., *Nov.* II 162.26–7

(v) Very occasionally in later texts a νά-clause (± διά) is used to express a cause/reason without a preceding conjunction; the subject is always omitted, being coreferential with the main-clause subject, and the verb is marked for aspect but not for tense (cf. 3.4.2, NOTE (i) for similar temporal clauses):

ἐπῆγες καὶ κόντρα τῆς φύσεώς σου, <u>νὰ μὴν λυπηθῆς</u> τὰ παιδία σου, καὶ τὸν

πλοῦτον ... <u>νὰ λογιάσῃς</u> γιὰ μουδὲ τίποτες, καὶ ἐπρόκρινες νὰ εἶσαι

> 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 33.29–32

"you went against your nature, not pitying your children and caring nothing for wealth, you ... "

ἕνας παράσιτος ὁπού ... ἐκράζουτουν Φαγότος, <u>διὰ νὰ εἶναι</u> ἄνθρωπος χοντρὸς

..., εἶπεν τοῦ Βασιλέως   17th c., *Bertoldos* 28.2–5

"a parasite, who, being a fat man, was called 'Glutton', spoke to the king"

3.6   Concessive Clauses

(39) **Concessive clauses are introduced by (ἂν) καλὰ καί, ἀνέναι καί (when following a main clause), μὲ ὅλο πού, "(al)though"; simple ἂν καί is not attested in the corpus before the 17th/18th c. They may also be introduced by καὶ ἂν, καὶ ἂς "even if"/"even though". See also on conditionals in 3.3.**

Conjunctions meaning "although" take present/past indicatives, those meaning "even if/even though" naturally take the same range of tenses as the corresponding conditional conjunction.

ὁ Θεὸς ἐλευθερώσῃ σε <u>καὶ ἂς εἶσαι ψωμοζήτης</u>   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 216

αὐτὸς ὁ Εὐλάλιος <u>καὶ ἂν ἔλθῃ</u> ... τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἐξορθώνουσι ... πατέρα τῶν

γραμματικῶν   15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 43–7

τὸν κόσμον <u>καὶ ἂν ἐγύρευες</u>, κάλλιον οὐκ εἶχες εὕρειν   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 984

τὸ ἔγραψα ... διὰ νὰ μὴν ἀπελπίζεται τινὰς κἂν ἁμαρτωλὸς πολλὰ <u>καὶ ἂν ἔναι</u>

> 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 415.22–3

σαράντ' ἁγιούς <u>καὶ ἂν ἔκραζες</u> μὲ πόθο νὰ γυρεύῃς, τὲς λειτουργιές σου <u>χάνεις</u> τες,

μὰ μένα δὲν μοῦ φεύγεις   16th c., *Alfav.* 10 71–2

χτύπησε, <u>καλὰ καὶ γρινιασμένη</u> τὴν <u>εἶδα</u> ὀψές ..., μὴν εἶν' κιανεὶς στὸ σπίτι της

> 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* II.93–5

<u>κι ἂν εἶναι</u> κι ὣς τὴ σήμερο δὲν εἶναι παντρεμένη, <u>μ' ὅλο πού</u> τόσοι βασιλιοί τὴν <u>ἔχου</u>

<u>ζητημένη</u>, δὲν ἔν' παρὰ γιατὶ πονεῖ ... ἡ καρδιά μου

> 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* I.533–5

γιὰ ποιά 'φορμὴ μακρὰ νὰ θὰ γυρεύῃς θεριὰ ..., <u>ἂν ἔν κ'</u> ἐσὺ ἔχεις ἕνα θεριὸ ἄγριο

πλιὰ σιμά σου   17th c., *Pist. voskos* I 1.79–83

ὁ ὁποῖος, <u>ἂν καλὰ καὶ</u> εἶμαι ἁμαρτωλός, μὲ ὅλον ἐτοῦτο ἐπρογνώριζα ἕως ὅπου

μέλλει νὰ φθάσῃ ἡ Ἐκκλησία   17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 57–9

καὶ μοιράσασιν ... τὴν ἄνωθεν φυτέαν ..., <u>καλὰ καὶ</u> ἀπού τὴν ὥραν ὁπού ἀπόθανεν ὁ

ποτὲ ἀφέντης Ξερίτης <u>ἐτύχαινε</u> νὰ τὴ μοιράσου

> 1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 299, 285.4–5

<u>ἀγκαλὰ καὶ εἶναι</u> πτωχεία εἰς τοῦτο τὸ νησί, μολαταῦτα ... τοὺς ἐβοηθήσαμεν

> 1684, Patmos, HOFMANN 1928: 9a, 70.13–15

ἐγὼ βασιλικὴν τιμὴν σοῦ ἔκαμα, <u>ἂν καὶ ἦσουν</u> καὶ ἐχθρός μου

> 18th c./17th c., *Alex.* Fyll. 67.24–5

δὲν εἶναι ἴδιον τῶν ... καβαλιέρων τὸ νὰ δείχνουν τὲς πληγές τους, <u>ἂν καὶ νὰ ἦτον</u>

τόσες μεγάλες ὁπού νὰ ἐβγαίνουν τὰ ἄντερά τους   18th c., *Don Kis.* 47.11–13

NOTES

(i) Relative clauses introduced by ὁπού (see 5.3.3) may sometimes take on a concessive/temporal force ("though"/"when") and express a reaction to/contrast with what has preceded ("whereas"):

εἴμαστεν χορτασμένοι ... <u>πού 'μαστεν πεινασμένοι</u>. ... τί νὰ γένῃ, πού φάγαμε τὰ

ἄλογα, <u>ὁπού 'μαστεν χρειασμένοι</u>;   16th c., *Alex.* Rim. 899–902

ἀμὴ δεῖξε μου τὸ πῶς ἐσεῖς γίνεσθε, <u>ὁπού</u> γυναῖκες <u>οὐδὲν ἔχετε</u>

> 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 44.11–12 (Konstantinopulos)

ἀπ' αὐτὴν (περηφανία) ἐξέπεσε Σατᾶν ὁ ἑωσφόρος καὶ 'γίνη σκοτεινόμορφος,

<u>ὁποῦτον</u> λαμπροφόρος   17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1603–4

ἐκεῖνος ἤθελεν εἶστεν ζωντανός, <u>ὁπού</u> τώρα <u>εἶναι ἀπεθαμένος</u>

> 17th c., *Bertoldin.* 96.26–7

3.7   Comparative Clauses

(40) Clauses comparing the manner in which a main-clause event took place with some other eventuality (e.g. *A happened* [*as X hoped (it would)*]/[*in the (same) way that B happened*]) are introduced by ὡς/(ὡ)σάν/ὥσπερ; (ὡς) καθώς/καθά/καταπῶς; οἶον/ὅγοιον/γοιόν/ὡς γοῖον/ὡς γοιόν. These conjunctions are used with indicatives when the event compared is real, "(just) as", and with νά + conditional forms when it is hypothetical/counterfactual, "as if".

There are no examples in the database of (ὡς) καθώς, καθά, καταπῶς used with conditional verb forms, and these appear to have been used exclusively for accurate/factual comparisons.

Ὅγοιον, γοιόν, ὡς γοῖον are characteristically Cypriot forms.

Indicatives (present, imperfect, aorist, pluperfect)

οὐ γὰρ εἶν ἀνάγκη ... περὶ πίστεως δογματίζειν ..., <u>καθώς</u> καὶ <u>προεῖπα</u>
<div align="right">12th c./11th c., NIKON, <i>Logos</i> 9 150.23–4</div>

ἃς μείνη ὁ τόπος ἔρημος, ἃς γένη <u>ὡς ἦτον</u> πρῶτον   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, <i>Stichoi</i> 283

καθεὶς κοιμᾶται <u>ὡς ἔστρωσεν</u>, ὡς ἔσπειρεν θερίζει   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, <i>Stichoi</i> 365

ἐκίνησαν τὰ σάλια μου ... νὰ τὴν ἐπέπεσα <u>καθά ἦτον φουσκωμένη</u>
<div align="right">14th c./12th c., <i>Ptoch. IV</i> 219–20</div>

κι ὤμοσε ὁ μπάϊλος πρότερον καὶ τότε οἱ λίζιοι ἄνθρωποι, νὰ εἶναι δοῦλοι καὶ πιστοὶ ... <u>ὡς ἔνι</u> τὸ συνήθειον   14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H 7930–2

ἦτον πρώτη σύμβια ... τοῦ ἀφέντη τῆς Καρύταινας, <u>ὡσὰν</u> σὲ τὸ <u>ἀφηγήθην</u>
<div align="right">14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H 8004–5</div>

ἔχομέν σε ἀδελφὸν καὶ συλλειτουργὸν καὶ ἤδη, <u>καθὼς ὁρᾷς</u>, καὶ γράφομέν σοι τὰ περὶ τούτου   1376, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 255, 486.16–17

αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν τὸ κενὸν χρέος, <u>ὥσπερ χρεωστοῦμεν</u> οἱ ἀπαξάπαντες
<div align="right">14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 147–8.5–6</div>

ὥρισεν νὰ τὰ καταλύσω, καὶ νὰ τὰ χαλάσω ἐκ θεμελίων, <u>ὥσπερ ἐποίησα</u> καὶ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην   1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.16

μηδὲν μετανώσης <u>ὡς γοιὸν ἐποῖκες</u> καὶ τὲς ἄλλε(ς) φορές
<div align="right">16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, <i>Chron.</i> V 206.24–5</div>

μωρὸν παιδὶν τὸ φτιάζουν, <u>γοιὸν</u> τὸν <u>θωρεῖς</u> ἐδὰ ζωγγραφισμένον
<div align="right">16th c./15th–16th c., <i>Cypr. Canz.</i> 18.15–16</div>

ἔγινεν ἔτσι <u>ὡς καθὼς εἶπεν</u> καὶ ἐπροφήτευσεν ἐκείνη ἡ γραία
<div align="right">16th c., KARTANOS, <i>P&N Diath.</i> 334.9–10</div>

Ἔλα νὰ πᾶμε εἰς τὸ σπίτι μου, νὰ σταθῆς νὰ 'ρδινιάσω τὰ παιδιά μου, τὸ σπίτι μου, <u>καταπῶς</u> ἔναι ἡ τάξη   16th c., <i>Nov. II</i> 162.29–31

σὲ παρακαλοῦμε νὰ εἴμεστεν Φράγκοι λίμπεροι, <u>ὡς καθὼς γράφομε</u> ἀπὸ πάνω
<div align="right">1571, Mani, CHASIOTIS 1970: 6.1, 242.41–2</div>

εἶντα μιλοῦσι τὰ πουλιὰ ξεύρει, <u>σὰν εἶχ' ἀκούσει</u>
<div align="right">17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, <i>Panor.</i> I.267</div>

οἱ Οὔγγαροι, ἂν ἠθέλανε ἐμπῆ 'ς τὸν πόλεμο <u>ὡσὰν ἐμπήκανε</u> οἱ Φραντζέζοι, ἐκερδέζανε τὸν πόλεμο   17th c., <i>Chron. Tourk. Soult.</i> 33.11–12

τί ἄλλον καλὸν θὲ νὰ ἐκδέχουνται ἀπ' ἐκείνους, μόνον νὰ παίρνουσιν, ἂν ἔχουν τίβοτις, <u>καθὼς</u> τὸ <u>κάνουν</u> τὰ κοινόβια   1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.50–1

εἰς τὸ τέλος τῆς θέλει εὕρει πολλὰ ἀγαθά, <u>καθὼς</u> τὰ <u>εὑρήκασι</u> καὶ οἱ πρωτύτεροι
<div align="right">17th c., VENETZAS, <i>Varl. & Ioas.</i> 30.9–10</div>

εἶδα τὸ ἄστρον <u>σὰν</u> μοῦ <u>ἐλέγασιν</u> οἱ χωριάτες, καὶ ἐπληροφορήθηκα
<div align="right">17th c., <i>Diath. Nikon Metan.</i> 62–3</div>

τσὶ γάμους σου ἔρχεται νὰ τιμήση ὁ βασιλιὸς τῆς Πέρσιας, <u>σὰν εἶχα</u> σου <u>μιλήσει</u>
<div align="right">17th c., TROILOS, <i>Rodol.</i> III.215–16</div>

ἐδώσαμεν καὶ τοῦ Κουτλουμουσίου μοναστηρίου τὸν Ἅγιον Νικόλαον Σιμάτου ..., <u>ὡς καθὼς διαλαμβάνει</u> τὸ παλαιὸν γράμμα τοῦ Πρωτάτου
<div align="right">1661, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 71, 200.8–11</div>

τὸ ἄλλον ἥμισον ἐχάρισέν το ... καὶ νὰ γίνε ὅλον τοῦ μοναστηριοῦ βακούφιν <u>ὅγοιον</u> τὸ <u>εἶχεν</u> καὶ πρῶτα   1665, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 7, 19.8–11

Conditional Forms

ὁ ρῆγας ὥρισεν ... ὅσοι ... χρεωστοῦν ὁμάτζια, τοῦ Ρούσου νὰ τὰ ποιήσουσιν ... <u>ὥσπερ νὰ ἦτο</u> ὁλοστινὸς ὁ ρῆγας ἀπατός του   14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H 7858–62

ἔκλαψεν καὶ ἐθρήνησεν <u>ὥσπερ νὰ εἶχεν χάσει</u> τὸ ρηγᾶτον <τὸ> τῆς Φραγκίας
<div align="right">14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H 8179–80</div>

ἐπαρέδωκέν του καὶ τὸ κάτεργον, <u>ὡσγοῖον νὰ 'χεν εἴσταιν</u> δικόν του
<div align="right">16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., <i>Chron.</i> A 12.17–18</div>

ἐγδύνουνται ... ἀπού τὰ σπίτιαν καὶ ἀπὸ ὅλα τως τὰ δικαιώματα <u>σὰν νὰ μὴν</u> τὰ <u>θέλασιν ἔχει</u> ποτέ   1592, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 19, 74.13–14

τοῦ ὁποίου δίδει ἀουτοριτάν, <u>ὡσὰν νὰ ἦτον</u> τὸ ἐδικόν της κορμίν, ὅτι νὰ ἠμπορῆ νὰ τήνε ντεφεντέρη   1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.4

κάθα λογῆς ψυχικὸν γῆ χάρη ὁπού νὰ ἔκαμεν ... γιὰ τὸ ἄνωθεν ἀμπέλι νὰ εἶναι κομμένα καὶ ἀνουλάδα <u>ὡσὰν</u> ποτὲ <u>νὰ μὴν εἶχεν γενεῖ</u>
<div align="right">1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 651, 568.6–7</div>

NOTE

(i)   There is overlap between manner and temporal conjunctions reflected, for example, in the dual use of (ὡ)σάν, "as"/"when", cf. on temporal clauses in 3.4.

(41) Clauses comparing less favoured alternatives to prospective/hypothetical situations presented in a main clause (e.g. *X will/would do A* [*rather than (do) B*]) are introduced by παρὰ νά + subjunctive (prospective) or conditional (hypothetical/counterfactual). Clauses comparing unrealized alternatives to real-time events (e.g. *X did A* [*rather than (doing) B*]), or activities carried out to a greater/lesser degree than such events (e.g. *X did A* [*more/less than (s/he did) B*]), are introduced by παρὰ πού + indicative.

Prospective

σήμερον ἂς ἀποθάνωμεν <u>παρὰ νὰ ἐντραπούμεν</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5396

<u>κάλλιον</u> τὸ 'χω νὰ ἀποθάνω, <u>παρὰ νὰ</u> μοῦ <u>σηκώση</u> ἐκεῖνον ἀπού μοῦ ἔδωκεν
          16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 24.7–8

κι' ἴντα μπορῶ, νὰ ζήσης, <u>παρὴ</u> στὸ λάκκο σήμερο ... <u>νὰ πᾶ</u> σὲ <u>θάψω</u> ...;
          17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* III.112–14

Hypothetical/Counterfactual

"Would Have"

ἤθελεν <u>κάλλιον</u> νὰ εἶχεν χάσει μίαν ἀπὸ τὲς χῶρες του ..., <u>παρὰ νὰ</u> εἴχασιν ποσῶς
τὸν Κουραδὴ <u>σκοτώσει</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7085–7

"Would"

<u>πρῶτα</u> ν' ἀπόθαναν καὶ νὰ τοὺς ἀκληρῆσαν, <u>παρὰ νὰ</u> τοὺς <u>ἐβγάλασιν</u> ἐκ τὰ συνήθεια
πού ἔχουν   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7904–5

Real Time

αὐτὸς <u>πλέον</u> ἐβλάβετονε <u>παρὰ ἀπού</u> ὠφελεῖτονε
          17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 56.23–4

NOTES

(i) In texts from the end of the period covered by this Grammar παρά (πού) νά +
subjunctive is also used with comparative temporal adverbs (= "sooner/later than"),
after ἄλλος (= "(anyone/anything) other than"), and with negated verbs of ability (=
"cannot (be otherwise) than"/"cannot but"):

ἐδιάβη καὶ ἔβαλε τοὺς χριστιανοὺς 's τὴν μέση <u>πρωτύτερα παρὰ νὰ σώση</u> ὁ
Σιγισμόντος   17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.20–1

γιατί ἔχουν τόσες παρρησιὲς π' ἂν εἶχα ἑκατὸ γλῶσσες ... τὰ χείλη <u>δὲν μποροῦσι
παρὰ πού</u> ν' <u>ἀποφρίξουνε</u> καὶ <u>νὰ μὴ δυναστοῦσι</u>
          17th–18th c./17th c., *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 65–8

δὲν θέλω <u>ἄλλο</u> ἀπὸ λόγου σου <u>παρὰ νὰ γυρίσης</u> εἰς τὸ Τομπόζο, <u>νὰ ὑπάγης</u> ἐκ
μέρους μου εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν σινιόρα   18th c., *Don Kis.* 51.16–18

(ii) Adverbs/conjunctions with closely related meanings (e.g. "except", "but for") are used
in the same way:

πῶς νὰ τὸν ἀποδέξεται, πῶς νὰ τὸν χαιρετήση, <u>εἰμὴ νὰ λέγη</u> ὅτι ἄπιστος καὶ νὰ
τὸν θανατώση;   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4898–9

ἡ παροῦσα μου ταπεινὴ δὲν εἶναι διὰ ἄλλην αἰτίαν <u>πάρεξ νὰ</u> τῆς <u>ἀναγγείλω</u>, ὅτι
          1658, Cyprus, TSIRPANLIS 1973: 106, 160.5–6

(iii) Occasionally περί/περοῦ appears in place of παρά, especially in texts composed in a
more vernacular style:

<u>κάλλιον</u> τὸ ἔχω, θάνατον σήμερον ν' ἀποθάνω <u>περὶ νὰ εἰποῦσιν</u> ἀλλαχοῦ νὰ μὲ
κατηγορήσουν   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1134–5

<u>κάλλιον</u> τοῦ νὰ ἀποθάνη <u>περὶ νὰ μείνη</u> ἄνεργος τοῦ νὰ μὴ διαφορήση
          14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8187–8

ἔκρινα ὅτι νὰ καγοῦν τὰ κάτεργα καὶ ξύλα <u>περοῦ</u> λαὸς ὁ τῶν Γραικῶν <u>ἐνωθῇ</u> μὲ
τοὺς Φράγκους   16th c./15th c., LIMEN., *Velis.* (Λ) 265–6

<u>κάλλιον</u> ἔναι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νὰ κεῖτεται ἀπὸ μεγάλην ἀνάγκην <u>περὶ νὰ ἔχη</u> τὰ
βάρη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου   16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 28.19–21 (Konstantinopulos)

3.8   Other Adverbial Clauses

(42) **An articular (nominalized) infinitive may be governed by a preposition and
function in the manner of an English gerund: *after/because of/by* ... [(X)
doing Y].** In more popular styles νά + subjunctive may be substituted for the
infinitive when the meaning is one of purpose or intent.

Only in more elevated writing can the article be inflected in a case other than the accusative
or the infinitive have an overt (accusative) subject of its own; normally, an empty subject
position is controlled by the subject of the main verb.

In general, these constructions are characteristic of texts from the earlier medieval peri-
od, and survive later chiefly as formulaic phrases.

τό + Infinitive

ἦρξεν ὁ Λιεζάρης <u>εἰς τὸ λέγειν</u>   1142, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 6, 303.25

<u>μετὰ τὸ δοῦναι</u> τὴν ἀπόφασιν, καρτερεῖ ὁ κριτὴς ἡμέρας ι'
          ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 73.170–1

τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐλαττωμένον εἶχε <u>ἐκ τοῦ μὴ</u> φαίνεσθαί τινα παρὰ τοῦ κήπου τότε
          16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 287–8

ὁ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος <u>μετὰ τὸ βαπτισθῆναι</u> εἶπεν
          17th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* R 65.41–2

NOTE

(i) Nominalized infinitives governed by a preposition are also used to complement
adjectives, e.g. "nice to look at", "hard to please" etc.:

ὁ τυφλὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐγένηκεν ἐξάκουστος καὶ <u>εἰς τὸ βλέπειν</u> φίνος
          17th c., PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 143–4

τό + νά-clause

τὸ κατούδιν μας στήσας εἰς τὸ τραπέζιν, <u>διὰ τὸ νὰ εἰποῦν</u> ὅτι ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖνο τὴν
ζημίαν   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 264–5

ἀφίνω καὶ ἑπτὰ ἱερεῖς ἀπὸ δύο ὑπερπύρων σιτάριν <u>εἰς τὸ νὰ</u> μὲ <u>ποιήσουν</u> ἀπὸ μ'
λειτουργιῶν ὁ καθένας ἕκαστος   ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.55

(43) **Prepositions/adverbs used as conjunctions meaning "without" take a finite
clause containing a subjunctive (rarely a conditional) verb-form marked
with νά.**

πᾶσα στρατιώτης εὐγενὴς πρέπει νὰ τοὺς λυπᾶται διατὸ ἀπέθαναν ἄδικα, <u>δίχως νὰ</u>
<u>πολεμήσουν</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1160–1

ἡμεῖς ... οὐδὲν ἔχομεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν <u>ἄνευ νὰ ἦσαν</u> κι ἄλλοι   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7911–12

ἀφότου ἔφυγεν <u>δίχα νὰ πολεμήσῃ</u> ... πῶς ἠμποροῦμε ἡμεῖς πεζοί νὰ βλάψωμεν τὸν
τόπον;   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 9177–81

πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔσφαξε <u>δίχως νὰ ἔχουν</u> πταῖσμα   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1454

καὶ θέλεις εἴσταιν ἀπότορμος ... νὰ τοὺς ὁρίζῃς νὰ πηγαίννουν εἰς τὲς χρῆσε(ς) σου
<u>χωρὶς νὰ ἔχῃς</u> ἔννοιαν ἴντα νὰ τοὺς πλερώσῃς
                                            16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.30–3

νὰ δώσῃ τὴν πρόβα πασανοῦ κομματίου τῆς ἀλτελαρίας ὁποὺ ἡ μπάλλα του νὰ 'ναι
ἀπὸ βολίμι καθάριο <u>χωρὶς νὰ 'χῃ</u> σίδερο
                                        ?15th–16th c., Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.33–4

ἔπεσε ἡ τέντα του ... χωρὶς ἄνεμον καὶ <u>χωρὶς νὰ</u> τήνε <u>σείσῃ</u> τινάς
                                                      17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.3

4   Verbs and Verb Phrases

Verb Phrases (VPs) function as the predicates of clauses (see 1.1). The "core" of every VP is a verb form, the head of the phrase, together with its complements, if any. The traditional subcategorization into intransitive verbs (taking no object complement), transitive verbs (taking a direct object complement) and ditransitive verbs (taking both a direct object and an indirect object or other additional complement) deals only with nominal and certain prepositional phrase complements; other subclasses of verb may also take, e.g., sentential complements; cf. Chapter 2.

Verbs govern their complements in a variety of ways. Item-specific requirements (e.g. the choice of preposition in *rely on*) are a matter for the lexicon, but some overall principles can be established. General government requirements include the assignment of specified cases to nominal phrases carrying particular grammatical functions (see 5.1), and of particular conjunctions or verb forms to different types of complement clause (see Chapter 2). Prepositional phrase complements of various types may also be required to have particular prepositions (6.1). The various "markers" of complement status are essentially grammatical in nature, though there may be additional semantic factors in specific cases.

A VP may also contain a range of more "peripheral" adverbial adjuncts, including adverbs/adverb phrases (6.2), nominal and prepositional phrases used adverbially (5.1 and 6.1), and adverbial clauses (Chapter 3). These are unmarked by the verb, and the combination of lexical, morphological and syntactic properties in any given adjunct typically carries semantic rather than grammatical information.

This chapter deals specifically with the grammatical categories and functions of verbs themselves, i.e. independently of their co-occurring complements and adjuncts, whose properties are discussed elsewhere, as noted above.

Verb forms are either finite, i.e. inflected for values of person (1st, 2nd or 3rd) and number (singular or plural), or non-finite, i.e. not so inflected; in LMedG/EMG the non-finite forms comprise gerunds/participles and infinitives. Agreement of finite verbs with their subjects in person and number is an overt marker of the predication relation (1.1). This relation also holds in non-finite clauses, but the lack of person/number agreement in non-finite verb forms is typically associated with the absence of overt subjects leading to grammatical and referential "control" of the empty subject position by the subject of the main clause; gerunds and participles used "absolutely" do, however, have overt subjects of their own. See 2.2; 3.4, Rules (36) and (37), and 3.8.

The full set of finite verb forms, including periphrases with finite auxiliaries, is organized into paradigms, each of which is defined by specific values for some or all of the following categories: time reference (past, present, future), aspect (perfective, imperfective), mood (indicative, subjunctive, imperative), and voice (active, [middle: residual as a

distinct category for the perfective stem in some verbs], mediopassive). Time reference is a property only of indicatives and of non-indicative forms that may be used, *inter alia*, to refer to the future; only active transitive and ditransitive verbs allow grammatical alternation of voice; non-finite infinitives, gerunds and participles are marked only for aspect and voice (though gerunds are always active in form and meaning, and participles [residual apart from the perfect passive] agree with their controlling nominals in number, gender and case, but not in person).

Each member of each paradigm then carries a particular person/number combination (1 sg., 2 sg., 3 sg.; 1 pl., 2 pl., 3 pl.) so that every finite form can be given an unambiguous identifying label, e.g. "2 pl. past perfective indicative mediopassive of V" (in traditional terms "2 pl. aorist indicative passive of V"). Neither the more detailed definitions nor the traditional names necessarily indicate the full range of functions that the forms in a given paradigm may fulfil. Details are given below.

Among the grammatical categories of verbs, aspect alone is marked by stem-variation, sometimes by suppletion. Other morphological variation marking different combinations of grammatical values in verb forms is located in the inflectional endings added to the aspect stems. The prefixed augment, partly co-marking reference to the past in indicatives alongside specific sets of endings, is an exception. For full details see the relevant chapters of Part III, *Verb Morphology*.

For the sake of convenience and familiarity, the traditional term "tense" will continue to be used below to identify particular paradigms (e.g. the "present indicative" etc.), but it should be remembered that the "tenses" so defined are merely the names of sets of forms sharing the same values for the verbal categories of time reference, aspect, voice and mood.

4.1   Person and Number

(44) All finite verb forms are marked for one of the permissible combinations of person and number. These (pro)nominal categories appear on verb forms as markers of agreement with a subject, which is regularly omitted if it is itself pronominal in content and unemphatic (cf. 1.1).

1 sg. νύμφην ... πέμπ<u>ω</u> σε τὴν περιπόθητόν μου

?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.8v.15–16

2 sg. καὶ τὸ μεγαλογράμματον ἱμάτιν ... ἢ χάρισ<u>ον</u> ἢ πώλησ<u>ον</u> ἢ δὸς ὅπου κελεύ<u>εις</u>

14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 60–1

3 sg. τὸ πνεῦμα του ἐπαρέδωκ<u>εν</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7804

1 pl. οὕτως σὲ τὴν ἐδώκ<u>αμεν</u>   16th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 22

2 pl. τὸν κύρην του ἐσκοτώσ<u>ατε</u>   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1368

3 pl. λέγ<u>ουσι</u>, δέσποτά μου, καὶ ἱκετικῶς ἀναφέρ<u>ουσι</u> πρὸς τὴν πανιερότητά σου ὅτι γραφὴν τῆς πανιερότητός σου εἴδ<u>ασιν</u>   1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174.6–8

4.2   Voice

Voice is a morphological category of all LMedG/EMG verb forms. Many verbs have *either* active *or* mediopassive forms, but those that have both sets are utilized in the realization of the active/passive alternation: only sentences containing active transitive verbs, prototypically with agentive subjects, have passive counterparts containing mediopassive forms. Thus neither sentences with active intransitive verbs nor those with transitive deponent verbs (i.e. having mediopassive inflection but active meanings) allow regular passivization, either because the key grammatical function (object) is absent, as in the second example below, or because the relevant morphology (mediopassive) is already deployed, as in the first:

ἐκεῖνο πού 'παν τὰ δενδρὰ οὐδὲ μᾶς τὸ <u>ἐηγήθη</u>   16th c., *Alex.* Rim. 2116

<u>τρέχουσιν</u> εἰς τὴν κάμεραν   17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 51.1–2

Passivization involves a reorganization of sentence structure whereby the noun phrase that was the direct object of the active verb, prototypically denoting the patient of the action, stands as the subject of the corresponding mediopassive verb. This in turn entails suppression of the active subject, though an agentive noun phrase may still be included optionally in a passive sentence within a prepositional phrase headed by ἀπό "by" (+ accusative). Active/passive sentence pairs are broadly synonymous in that the same situation is described in both, but different participants are foregrounded according to whether the agent or patient of the relevant scenario is represented by the subject noun phrase.

The functional range of LMedG/EMG mediopassive forms is broader than that of *be*-passives in English, and reflects some of the characteristics of the middle voice of AG. In the case of "washing", for example, an individual X may (a) *wash someone/something* (active, X = the agent), (b) *get (himself/herself) washed* (middle, X = both the agent and the patient/experiencer), or (c) *get/be washed by someone* (passive, X = the patient). Many verbs in LMedG/EMG have mediopassive paradigms with middle-type meanings alongside, and sometimes instead of, passive ones. In suitably supporting contexts plural mediopassive forms may also be given a reciprocal interpretation in which two or more participants are understood to be both the agents and the patients/experiencers of the action in question.

(45) Active transitive verbs normally have a corresponding mediopassive paradigm. Use of the mediopassive forms involves demotion of the active subject (which is either suppressed or included as an agentive adjunct marked by ἀπό) and promotion of the active direct object to subject status.

With a few verbs, especially δίνω/δίδω "give" and synonyms, the indirect object may also be promoted to subject position (see example below).

The interpretation of the mediopassive subject, as fulfilling the single role of patient (passive reading) or the dual roles of agent + patient/experiencer (middle reading), is partly lexically determined and partly a matter of contextual determination. In the case of middle readings no agentive adjunct may be added.

Passive Reading

ἀπῆλθεν με εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ <u>ἐκρατήθην</u> μῆνας τέσσαρας

993, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 10, 124.13–14

ὑπὸ πατρὸς <u>ἐθλίβετον, μυριοκαταφρονᾶτον</u>   16th c./14th c., *Velth.* 38

ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἀναπνοῇ ... αἱ πράξες τῶν ἀν(θρώπ)ων <u>ζυγιάζονται</u> καὶ <u>δοκιμάζονται</u>

16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 567–8

ὅσα <u>κανισκεύγουνται</u> ... εἰς τὸν Θ(εὸ)ν, δὲν στρέφει ... τὴν ἀντίδοσιν τόσον εἰς

ἐκείνους ὅπου κανισκεύγουν ὡς γιὸν ἐκείνους ὅπου <u>διδοῦνται</u>

16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 390–2

τοῦ ἥδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς μίαν λέπραν ..., ἀπού ἦτονε <u>νὰ σαπηθῇ</u> ὅλη του ἡ σάρκα

17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 56.20–2

<u>ἐπληροφορήθημε</u> ἀπὸ πιστὸν Χριστιανόν   17th c., PAPASYNAD., *Chron.* I §31.71–2

ἐρχομένη καμία ὑψηλοτάτην δικαιοσύνη, <u>θέλομε κριθεῖν</u>

1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.14–15

Middle Reading

σύντομα <u>σηκωνόμεθαν</u>   16th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* α 3087

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα <u>ἰσιάστηκεν</u> μὲ τὸν σεβαστοκράτωρ   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7971

<u>ἐγέρθηκα</u> κι <u>ἐντύθη</u>   16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 124

ἐπῆγεν ὁ Τζωρτζῆς καὶ <u>εὑρέθην</u> μὲ τὸν σιρ Τουμάς

16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 30.7–8

ἡ ἀφεντία τῆς κυρᾶς ... <u>γρικᾶται</u> μὲ τὴν κυρὰν τὴν ῥήγαιναν

16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 30.14–15

<u>ἐσυναπαντήθησαν</u> μὲ τὸν σουλτὰν Μπαγιαζίτη καὶ ἐνίκησε ὁ Μπαγιαζίτης

17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.1–2

4.3   Mood

The morphologically encoded moods of LMedG/EMG are the indicative, the subjunctive (only partly distinct from the indicative even in writing, and regularly marked with νά/ἄς) and the imperative. Together these comprise the full set of finite verb forms. Complete paradigms of finite forms typically involve combinations of monolectic items with periphrastic ones, e.g. monolectic imperfect and aorist indicatives are used to refer to the past, but past-referring pluperfects are periphrastic, as are forms used to refer to the future (see 1.2 and for details on periphrastic forms III, 5).

Form and function do not correspond in a transparent fashion. The indicative is normally used to make statements about the real world, the subjunctive to express modal notions of futurity/possibility or necessity/obligation, and the imperative to give orders to a second person (the subjunctive fulfilling the corresponding roles for other persons). But autonomous modal verbs such as deontic πρέπει "it is necessary" or epistemic μπορεῖ/ἐνδέχεται "is is possible/likely" have indicative forms despite being used to make modal statements. Similarly, infinitival periphrases with present indicative auxiliaries express futurity/ modality alongside νά-subjunctives, and infinitival periphrases with imperfect indicative auxiliaries describe hypothetical/counterfactual situations alongside bare imperfect indicatives or past-tense indicatives marked with modal νά. Furthermore, though the subjunctive carries an independent future/modal value when this contrasts with present- or past-time reference (e.g. in main, conditional or temporal clauses) or follows directly from the relevant function (e.g. in final clauses), in those subordinate clauses where it has replaced an infinitive (e.g. in grammaticalized future/modal auxiliaries (1.2.2), as a complement to other control verbs (2.2), or in temporal/causal adjuncts (3.4, Rule (36))), it expresses the lexical meaning of the relevant verb in a temporally and modally neutral way, with the relevant properties deriving instead from the lexical meaning of governing verbs (if any), which typically denote future aspirations and possibilities.

The issues are discussed in detail in Chapter 1, where the morphological and periphrastic forms associated with mood/modality are related to the making of statements (1.2), the issuing of commands and prohibitions (1.3), the asking of questions/issuing of exclamations (1.4), and the making of wishes (1.5).

4.4   Time Reference and Aspect

In LMedG/EMG time reference is a grammaticalized property of indicative verb forms (i.e. these are necessarily marked for it) when they are used in sentences that make statements or ask questions about the real world.

Locating events in time presupposes a temporal reference point, and in the default case this is taken to be the time of speaking/writing ("the present"): eventualities denoted by sentences may be located before this point ("in the past"), at this point ("in the present"), or after this point ("in the future"), as indicated by the choice of verbal morphology/verbal periphrasis. Though reference to the future is in principle treated on a par with reference to the past and present, the future cannot be a strictly factual domain and there is significant overlap in LMedG/EMG between forms that refer to the future and those that express various modal notions (see 1.2.2).

Sometimes an event may be marked as "past" relative to another event that itself took place in the past or future with respect to the time of speaking/writing: pluperfects and future perfects perform this role in many languages, though these are rather marginal tenses in LMedG/EMG (see below). A secondary form of temporal relativity is involved in finite subordinate clauses dependent on main clauses containing verbs with past-time reference, cf. *he said that she would do X* with the corresponding direct statement *she will do X*. Such "sequence of tense" phenomena are also relatively marginal in LMedG/ EMG, where the tenses of the original statement, question etc. are usually preferred (see 2.1, Rule (22)).

Verbal aspect is also grammaticalized in LMedG/EMG, and in this case all verb forms are built either to a perfective or to an imperfective stem. In some periphrastic formations and non-finite forms, however, there is a clear tendency for one option to become dominant over time, with some consequential blurring of the usual aspectual contrast (see 1.2.2; 3.4, Rules (36) and (37)). There may also be some early indications of the loss of aspectual contrast in subjunctives in the Pontic region (see 4.4.5).

Unlike time reference, which is in principle an objective matter, choice of aspect reflects the speaker/writer's subjective "view" of a given eventuality without reference to its "actual" duration, whether in real/future time or in a possible/hypothetical world distinct from this one. Thus the same eventuality may be presented "perfectively" as a single complete whole with a beginning and an end (e.g. *the phone rang, will ring, may ring, would have rung*) or imperfectively as lacking one or both end-points, i.e. as continuing, progressing, habitual/repeated (e.g. *the phone was ringing, will be ringing, may be ringing, would have been ringing, used to ring*).

The choice of aspect is in principle free, though there are limitations deriving from the interaction of aspect with time reference (see below), and there are certain conventionalized preferences. In clauses of indefinite frequency (*whenever/each time X happened ...*), for example, the actions involved might be presented imperfectively (the sequence of recurring events is seen as open-ended) or perfectively (each individual action is seen as complete, leaving the open-endedness to be encoded in a co-occurring adverbial and/or a main-clause imperfective verb form). In LMedG/EMG there is a preference in these cases for perfective forms, while in MG imperfective forms have become the norm. In the following example the indefinitely repeated character of the action of the subordinate clause ("whenever I saw one") is made clear by the use of the imperfect in the main clause:

καὶ λάφιν δὲν μ' ἐγλύτωνεν, ... τὸ νὰ τὸ <u>δῶ</u>, τὸ <u>δόξευα</u>   *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 46–7

The indicative "tenses" marked for both time reference and aspect are presented first. Forms unmarked for time reference (gerunds/participles and infinitives) or that carry inherent time reference (imperatives, future/modals and in part subjunctives and conditionals) are then considered in terms of their aspectual properties.

4.4.1   Present Indicative (Present Imperfective Indicative)

(46) Since the present moment is naturally conceived as progressing with the passage of time, the present indicative of lexically non-stative verbs in LMedG/EMG is built to the imperfective stem and used to describe activities that are viewed as ongoing/progressive at the present moment as it advances. Correspondingly, the present indicative of lexically stative verbs describes what is viewed as a state of the subject that continues to hold true as the present moment progresses; present states have a naturally characterizing quality for the period of their duration.

Progressive

<u>ψεύδεται</u>, <u>φλυαρεῖ</u>, μὴ τὸν πιστεύῃς!   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 133

τί <u>θλίβεσαι</u> τοσούτως; οὐ <u>ξεύρεις</u> εἰς ἐριζικὸν <u>κοῖτεται</u> ἡ στρατεία; κι ὅποιος <u>ἐξεύρει</u> μηχανίαν καὶ <u>πράττει</u> μὲ πονηρίαν τοὺς ἀντρειωμένους <u>καταλυεῖ</u> κ' <u>ἐπαίρνει</u> τὴν ἀντρίαν τους   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4903–6

<u>εἶναι</u> ἀνάγκη πρὸ πάντων νὰ φροντίζετε τὴν παιδευσίν των καὶ τὰ ἤθη των, ... ἂν θέλετε νὰ ἔχουν τιμὴν ἐδῶ   1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.7–9

Stative

οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ <u>συμφωνοῦν</u>   12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 316.14–15

σὲ <u>ἀγαπῶ</u>   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 546.28–9

ἡ εὐγενείᾳ σου <u>εἶναι</u> κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ὥσπερ διοικητὴς τῶν παίδων μετὰ τοῦ Κριτοπούλου   1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.6

NOTES

(i)   In informal styles, and usually where the context makes things clear (e.g. where there is a future-referring conditional clause), the present indicative may also be used to refer to the future:

καὶ ἂν ἔχω ἐδῶ θανατωθῆν, τὴν κόρην οὐκ <u>ἀφήνω</u> 15th–16th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* α 2960

<u>δὲ γιαίνεις</u> ποτὲ ἀπὸ ἀυτήνη τὴν πληγή, καημένε, μὰ <u>ποθαίνεις</u>, ἀνὲν κι' αὐτὰ τὰ φαγητὰ δὲ φάγῃς νὰ χορτάσῃς   17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* III.89–91

(ii)   In the absence of a present perfective paradigm, formally imperfective present indicatives are used to comment on events taking place sequentially before the speaker's/hearer's eyes (e.g. *the emperor arrives, takes his seat and nods to his officials*). In LMedG/EMG this type of "historic" present is chiefly apparent in narrative texts, where it converts an account of past events into just such an eyewitness commentary:

ὡς ἔστεκα κ' ἐθώρουν τον, <u>γυρίζει</u> καὶ <u>ὁμιλεῖ</u> μου   16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 27

παρευθὺς ἀπαντονάρισεν ὅλες τὲς πρόσκαιρες δόξες ... καὶ <u>πορεύεται</u> κρυφίως εἰς τὴν ἔρημον   17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 33.6–8

(iii)   Performative verbs (utterance of which in the 1st person present indicative constitutes a performance of the relevant action) are similarly perfective in force but necessarily imperfective in form:

ὅλα τὰ παραιτούμεθα   17th c., IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 4762

(iv)   In some of the earliest texts there are occasional examples of periphrases formed from the verb "to be" + the present mediopassive participle:

εὔκολον ἔχουν τὸ νόημα διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ· οὐκ <u>εἶν</u> γὰρ οὔτε ἀπ' ἐμῆς γνώσεως <u>λαλούμενα</u>   12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 310.11–12

(47) The present tense of the verb "to be" + the perfect mediopassive participle is widely used in LMedG/EMG to express a present state of the subject. In this construction the participle is in effect a predicative adjective and as such agrees with the subject in the usual way (1.1.2).

πολλὰ <u>εἶσαι βαρεμένη</u>   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 304

<u>εἴμεθεν θλιμμένοι</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8419

<u>εἶνε μισισμένος</u> ἀπού 'ς αὐτῆς μας!   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 252.30

ἐγὼ <u>εἶμαιν σκοτωμένος</u>   16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 264.3 (Lolos)

ἐκεῖ ποὺ <u>εἶναι ἐνταφιασμένες</u> καὶ οἱ δύον τῆς θυγατέρες

<div align="right">1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 436, 659.11–12</div>

τὸ ὄνομά του <u>εἶναι τιμημένο</u> εἰς ἕνα βασιλικὸ χρυσόβουλλον

<div align="right">18th c., EFTHYM., Chron. Gal. 18.6–7</div>

NOTES

(i) Correspondingly, the imperfect of "be" may be used to describe a past state of the subject:

<u>ἤμουνα στολισμένη</u>
<div align="right">17th c., BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol. 180.18</div>

(ii) Less commonly, the present or past state of a direct object may be encoded using ἔχω/ εἶχα + perfect passive participle, which agrees with the object:

τὸν γρόθον του εἰς τὸ μάγουλον <u>εἶχεν ἀκουμπτισμένον</u>   15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 418

Such examples tend to have a rather literal meaning in the earlier part of the period of this Grammar, but in certain areas they subsequently acquire the function of a true perfect/pluperfect, almost certainly in part under the influence of Romance after 1204:

στὴ βλέπησή της ἐτουνῆς τὴν <u>εἴχασι δοσμένη</u>

<div align="right">18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, Erot. I.433</div>

Following the grammaticalization of the construction, the participle is sometimes inflected invariably as a neuter plural (see 4.4.4).

(48) The present indicative is used to describe activities/states viewed as habitual or characteristic of the subject at *any* present moment in the progression of time (making these activities/states, in effect, timeless).

The relevant activity might be viewed perfectively (the action is seen as a single complete event on each occasion) or imperfectively (there is no bound on the number of such events), but in the absence of a present perfective paradigm the imperfective present is necessarily used.

ὅταν ὁ κόραξ πούποτε καθίση καὶ φωνάξη, ἐκεῖ <u>σημαίνει</u> θάνατον καὶ χωρισμὸν ἀθρόον   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 20–1

ὁποὺ <u>ἔχει</u> ἀμέριμνον ψυχήν, ὁποὺ <u>ἔνι</u> χορτασμένος ποτὲ οὐ <u>πιστεύει</u> νηστικόν, ποτὲ οὐ <u>ψυχοπονᾶται</u>   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 117–18

ὁ Χάρων δὲν <u>ἐντρέπεται</u> οὐδ' ἄρχον οὐδὲ ρήγα   16th c./15th c., Om. Nekr. Vas. 81

4.4.2   Imperfect Indicative (Past Imperfective Indicative)

(49) The imperfect indicative is used to describe actions that are viewed as ongoing/progressive in the past (non-stative verbs), states that are viewed as persisting over time in the past (stative verbs), or actions that are viewed as habitual/characterizing in the past; past states naturally characterize the subject for the period of their duration.

Progressive

<u>ἄστραπτε</u> κατ' ἀνατολάς, ὅταν ἐγεννήθη   16th c./14th–15th c., Spanos D 116–17

<u>ἐβγαίνασιν</u> (λόγια) ἀπὸ τὰ στόματά των   16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, Thrinos 7

Stative

<u>ἀγαπούσαν</u> τὸν Χριστὸν κι εὐσέβειαν <u>ἐποθούσαν</u>   14th c., Chron. Mor. H 117

πάντα σ' <u>ἐμίσουν</u>   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 574.17–18

Habitual

εἰς τὸ νησὶν εὑρίσκετον ... ναὸς ἀρχαῖος ..., ἔνθα οἱ Ἕλληνες <u>ἤρχοντο</u>, θυσίας <u>ἀποτελοῦσαν</u>   15th c./14th c., Pol. Tr. 1723–5

ἐγὼ <u>ἀγαπούσα</u> νὰ παραπονιέσαι   18th c., Don Kis. 47.16

NOTES

(i) There are examples from Crete of the imperfect used to describe an action that did not produce the hoped-for results:

μὲ ἄλλη μου <u>ἔγραφα</u> τῆς πανιερότη σου νὰ μοῦ ἀγοράση πενήντα τάβλες

<div align="right">1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.2–3</div>

<u>ἐπροήγραφα</u> τῆς πανιερότη σου, μὰ λογιάζω νὰ μὴν τοῖς ἔλαβες

<div align="right">1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 2, 168.9–10</div>

(= "tried to write", incomplete in that the message was not received/acted on)

(ii) Use of the imperfect indicative in conditional sentences is dealt with in 1.2.2, Rule (11) and NOTES; 3.3.

(iii) In 16th/17th-c. Crete and Cyprus, where the pluperfect was more regularly formed with εἶχα + perfect passive participle (see 4.4.4), there is a corresponding use of what are otherwise past-tense conditional periphrases to express habitual actions ("whenever s/he did X ... ") rather than relative temporal anteriority ("when s/he had done X ... "), as shown by the restriction of such indicative use to cases where the main verb is a habitual imperfective:

ὡς <u>εἶχε βάλειν</u> εἰς τὸ νοῦ κι ὡς <u>ἤθελε λογιάσει</u> ποιά στράτα μέλλει νὰ κρατῆ ..., χολικιασμένη <u>ἐπόμενε</u>   18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, Erot. I.2091–5

ντὰν <u>νὰ 'χεν βάλειν</u> ἄνθρωπον κάτω <u>νὰ 'χεν παιδεύγει</u>, τοὺς δελοιποὺς τὸ αἷμάν τους <u>ἀρχίνιζεν</u> νὰ φεύγη

<div align="right">17th–18th c./17th c., KONST. DIAK., Ist. Makaritou Marko 265–6</div>

4.4.3   Aorist Indicative (Past Perfective Indicative)

(50) The aorist indicative denotes eventualities in past time that are viewed as single complete wholes (i.e. with a beginning and an end, and the middle largely elided).

Much of the interpretation depends on the lexical character of individual verbs. Thus activities and states viewed perfectively are naturally interpreted as having ended (e.g. *X ran (a mile)*, *X ruled (till he died)*), processes with inherent culminations as having attained them (e.g. *X melted*, *X grew up*), achievements as punctual events (*X arrived (at 9.15)*), etc. But the perfective forms of stative verbs may also be used to denote what are viewed as momentary events initiating the relevant state (e.g. ἀγάπησε = "X fell in love", ἐβασίλευσε = "X became emperor").

ἀφότου <u>ἀπεκατέστησεν</u> μισὶρ Ντζεφρὲς ἐκεῖνος τὰ πάντα ὅλα πράγματα ..., τόσα
τὸν <u>ἀγαπήσασιν</u> ... ὅτι βουλὴν <u>ἀπῆρασιν</u> ..., τὸ πῶς νὰ τοῦ ἔμεινε ἡ ἀφεντία τοῦ
τόπου τοῦ Μορέως   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2098–104

ὁ πάπας δὲν τὸ <u>'θέλησεν</u>, ἀμμὲ <u>'μηνῦσεν</u> του
                                         16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 26.12–13

τοῦτοι οἱ ἀθρῶποι ... ἐκουρσεῦγαν καὶ ἐσκοτῶνναν, καὶ <u>ἐποῖκαν</u> μεγάλα κακὰ εἰς τὸ
νησσίν   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 60.10–12

<u>ἀφέντεψεν</u>, ἀφ' ὃν <u>ἐστέφθην</u> ὥς που καὶ <u>ἐπέθανεν</u>, λθ' χρόνους καὶ δ' μῆνες καὶ κδ'
ἡμέρες, καὶ <u>ἐπέθανεν</u> ἡμέρα πέπτη τὴν ὕστερη μαρτίου, ατκδ' Χριστοῦ εἰς τὸν
Στρόβιλον   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 58, 60.36, 1–3

ἐσὺ μ' ἐντρόπιαζες τόσους χρόνους, κ' ἐγάμεις τὴ μάνα μου καὶ ποτέ μου δὲ σοῦ <u>εἶπα</u>
τίποτας· κ' ἐσύ, γιὰ μία βολὰ ποὺ <u>ἐγάμησα</u> τὴ γυναίκα σου, κάνεις ἔτσι;
                                         16th c., *Nov. I* 156.14–16

ὁ μπάρμπας τοῦ παιδίου <u>ὠνείδισε</u> τὸν γέρον κ' <u>εἶπε</u> του " ... ὅ,τι <u>ἄρχισε</u>, ἐμένα ποτὲ
δὲ μοῦ τὸ <u>ἐμολόγησε</u>", κ' ἔτσι <u>ἀγκαλιάστη</u> κ' <u>ἐφίλησε</u> τὸ παιδί του, κ' <u>ἔμειναν</u>
ἀγαπημένοι   16th c., *Nov. I* 156.19–22

<u>ἐδέχθη</u> τὸν λόγον ... καὶ ... <u>ἔστειλεν</u> ἔξοδες καὶ κάτεργα ὁ πάπας, διατὶ εἶχεν πολλὴν
ἐπιθυμίαν νὰ γένη ἡ ἕνωσις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἔσοντας ὁποὺ πολλὲς φορὲς τὸ
<u>ἐβουλήθησαν</u> ..., καὶ δὲν <u>ἐδυνήθησαν</u> νὰ τὸ κατορθώσουν
                                         17th c./16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1631) 229.39–43

μᾶς <u>ἀποδέχθηκε</u> καὶ <u>ἀγκάλιασεν</u> ὁ πριντζιπός μας, καὶ ἔτζι πάντα ἐδῶ <u>ἐζήσαμεν</u> εἰς
εἰρήνη, ὥστε ποὺ ὁ ἐχθρὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νὰ σπείρη τὸ ζιζάνιο
                                         1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.6–9

NOTES

(i)   Use of the aorist indicative in conditional sentences is dealt with in 1.2.2, Rule (11) NOTE (i); 3.3.

(ii) In the absence of a properly developed perfect indicative for much of the period covered by this Grammar (see below), the aorist may be used in contexts where a perfect meaning seems appropriate:

τὸν ἥλιον <u>εἶδα</u> νὰ σταθῇ χίλιες φορὲς γροικώντας τὰ πάθη μου
                                         17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* I.71–2

ἐγὼ <u>δὲν εἶδα</u> νὰ σταθῇ τὸν ἥλιο νὰ μ' ἀκούσῃ, μὰ εἶδα χαράκια καὶ δεντρὰ πολλὰ
ν' ἀνασπαστοῦσι, νὰ φεύγου γιὰ νὰ μὴ γροικοῦ τ' ἀναστενάματά μου
                                         17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* I.73–5

(iii) The aorist is also widely used where a pluperfect might have been employed, the notion of anteriority being inherent in the typically sequential nature of complete events; thus the event described in a subordinate clause is naturally taken to precede that described in a main clause if the latter also contains an aorist ("when X, then Y"):

ἀφότου <u>ἐκατόρθωσεν</u> ὅσα σᾶς ἀφηγοῦμαι ... τὸ πνεῦμα του <u>ἐπαρέδωκεν</u> κι
ἀπῆραν το οἱ ἄγγελοι   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7801–4

ἀφὸν <u>ἐφάγαν</u> καὶ <u>ἐπαρδιαβάσαν</u>, ἐκατέβησαν κάτω εἰς τὴν αὐλήν
                                         16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 44.9

ἐστόντα τάπισα <u>καὶ ἐβγάλαν</u> τον ἔξω ἀπὸ τὸν πύργον, ὁ βασιλιὰς ἐποῖκεν νὰ τὸν
μάθουσιν τὴν ἁγίαν πίστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ   16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 150.14–16

4.4.4   Perfect, Pluperfect and Future Perfect Indicatives

The ancient monolectic perfect had fallen together functionally with the aorist long before the medieval period, and aorists (sometimes derived from earlier perfects, e.g. βρῆκα/ ηὕρηκα) could always be used thereafter to imply the "present relevance" of a past event whenever the context supported or demanded such a reading. The monolectic pluperfect was not much used even in AG and it too withered away before the period of this Grammar, leaving the aorist as the default means of denoting events anterior to past events (see 4.4.3, Rule (50) NOTE (iii)). Since the future perfect barely existed in AG (most verbs do not have an attested paradigm), the only productive survivor of the ancient perfect system was the perfect passive participle, which could be used predicatively with different tenses of εἶμαι to express a state of the subject, or more rarely with different tenses of ἔχω as an object complement to express a state of the direct object (see Rule (47) and NOTES).

Other than in S. Italy (where Latin/Romance influence was always present), periphrastic forms with the authentic pluperfect force of temporal anteriority begin to appear only in the later medieval period, and it is hard not to see this development as driven in part by the advent of widespread bilingualism following the influx of Romance speakers into the Greek-speaking world after the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204.

One form of Romance-style pluperfect, attested from ca. 15th c. onwards and quickly associated with a corresponding perfect, was based on the ἔχω/εἶχα + perfect passive participle construction, the latter element sometimes retaining agreement with the direct object, but also inflected as an invariable neuter plural in the wake of the reinterpretation and grammaticalization of the forms, e.g. *I have/had a tree (that is/was) planted in the garden > I have/had planted a tree in the garden*, etc. Though in principle available only with transitive verbs, it was quickly extended to "unergative" intransitives (i.e. those denoting simple activities), using newly invented participles such as ἀποφασισμένος; in this case the neuter plural ending is standard, but this is also partially generalized to transitive verbs on Crete and some southern Aegean islands. A passive is formed using εἶμαι + perfect passive participle, and this combination is also used as a perfect/pluperfect active with deponent verbs and "unaccusative" intransitives (i.e. those denoting transitions to a result location, such as "come/go"), once again with innovative formations such as ἐλθωμένος etc. The resulting creation of a "be/have" auxiliary split is highly characteristic of Romance, and

throughout the period of this Grammar the participial construction remains most character-istic of southern regions that were long under Western rule (e.g. Heptanese, Crete, Rhodes Cyprus), with only limited spread to the mainland, and not to northern areas.

ἔβλεπεν ὁ ἄγγελος, ὡς <u>ἦτον τεταγμένος</u>   15th c., *Anak.Konst.* 112

τὸ ἐμισὸν <u>ἔχομεν βαλμένον</u> εἰς τὴν πακτωσίαν 1506, Patmos, MALTEZOU 1970: 2, 367.172

μᾶς <u>ἔχει δοσμένα καὶ πουλημένα</u> ... ἀμπέλιν
                                        1547, Crete, ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI 2002: 25, 65.3

<u>εἶναι μισημένος</u> ἀπού τὴ Ρώμη   1570, Venice, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 9, 482.3

<u>εἴχαμε μιλημένα</u> γιὰ τὸ γάμο   17th c./16th–17th c., *Vosk.* 400

The other main type of pluperfect starts to appear a little earlier and derives from the prob-ably Romance-inspired reinterpretation of conditional periphrases in the protases of hypo-thetical/counterfactual conditionals as denoting anteriority vis-à-vis the apodosis (see 3.3 for details); e.g. a conditional with the literal meaning "if I would find the money, I would spend it" (the LMedG/EMG construction was originally atemporal) > "if I would have found the money ... " > "if I *had* found the money ... ", with the notion of anteriority then extended to real-time subordinate clauses (e.g. "when I had found the money ... ") and then to main claus-es (e.g. "I had found the money (by the time the bill arrived)"). This type of pluperfect quickly becomes widespread and is ordinarily based on the εἶχα-periphrasis with perfective infinitive, though in southern areas there are also examples of the ἤθελα-periphrasis used as a pluperfect. The construction acquires a corresponding perfect very late, at the end of the 17th c.

<u>εἶχαν</u> τὸν <u>κόψει</u> κακὰ καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν   15th c./?13th c., *Assizes* B 267.11–12

ἔβαλαν τὸν βασιλέαν ἐκεῖνον εἰς τὸ σκαμνὶ ... ὅπου τὸ <u>εἶχεν χάσει</u>
                                                    14th. c., *Chron. Mor.* H 622–3

NOTES

(i)   In southern areas from around the 16th c. onwards, the conditional infinitival periphrasis with ἤθελα is also sometimes used as a pluperfect:

λέγοντες πῶς τὸ <u>ἤθελαν χάσει</u> πρώην   1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008. 5, 58.5–6

(ii) In Crete there is evidence (specifically from Kornaros) that conditional periphrases could also be used as habituals in generic subordinate clauses (cf. the dual use of English *would*); note the habitual imperfect in the corresponding main clause:

τὸ 'χα ξυπνήσει, ἐφώνιαζα   18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.995

It is unclear whether such examples should be translated "whenever/wherever/whoever someone would/used to X" or "... had X".

(iii) Particularly, if not exclusively, in regions where both types of pluperfect co-existed, the participial construction retains a more stative character, in line with its origins.

A further type of pluperfect is more sporadically attested, formed from the past tense of "to be" and the perfective gerund. This formation is chararacteristic of S. Italy, the

---

Peloponnese and adjacent islands such as Cythera, and may represent a local moderniza-tion of the corresponding ancient construction that used the aorist participle (which agreed with the subject in number, gender and case). It never gained ground geographically and declines with the general decline of the perfective gerund (3.4, Rule (37)).

ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ ἅπαντες οἱ πελεγρῖνοι ἐκεῖνοι, ὅπου <u>ἦσαν ἐπάροντα</u> τὸν σταυρὸν
                                                    14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H. 390–1

Even more restricted in its distribution is a variant using εἶχα + perfective or imperfective gerund, apparently without any clear aspectual contrast.

The future perfect is almost exclusively a non-literary tense and is often used in legal con-texts for precision, once again most probably under the influence of corresponding Romance practice in which grammatical marking of the sequencing of events in both past and future time is routine. The majority of attested forms are futures of the ἔχω + perfect passive participle periphrasis, formed chiefly with (ἐ)θέλω (e.g. θέλω ἔχει(ν) X V-μένο/-μένη etc.); conditional ἤθελα in the same construction is a very clear marker of the legalese register.

νὰ 'μαι κρατημένος νὰ τῆς δίδω ὅ,τι ροῦχα ... τῆς <u>ἤθελα ἔχει καμωμένα</u>
                                                    1538, Crete, MAVROMATIS 2006: 211, 166.10–12

νὰ χάνῃ τὴν δούλευσή του ὁπού <u>θέλει ἔχει δουλεμένη</u>
                                                    1571, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 1, 53. 10–11

The various auxiliaries used in these LMedG/EMG periphrases either lack perfective stems altogether (εἶμαι, ἔχω) or do not make use of them in this role (e.g. the aorist of (ἐ)θέλω is never used as an auxiliary). Any aspectual contrast must therefore derive from the element with which they combine, viz. the perfect passive participle, infinitive or gerund. But of these only infinitives and gerunds can in principle be marked for aspect, and even here the usual perfective/imperfective contrast applies only in part (see 1.2.2 for the conditional periphrases; 3.4, Rules (36) and (37) for infinitives and gerunds, on which cf. also immediately below). Since the various members of the perfect system, un-like all other indicatives, do not engage fully, or in some cases at all, with the otherwise universal perfective/imperfective opposition, it is unsurprising that they occupy a rather marginal position in the overall verbal paradigm of LMedG/EMG and play a similarly marginal role syntactically. The participial perfects, pluperfects and future perfects at least retain a distinctive role with their continuing (if partial) stative function, but the pluperfects formed with infinitives and gerunds are almost exclusively perfective in form and function principally as temporally more pedantic variants of the aorist (indicative or future/subjunctive according to whether time reference is to the past or the future).

For further examples and more detailed discussion of the formations discussed above see III, 5.

4.4.5   Future/Conditionals, Subjunctives and Imperatives

Aspect in infinitival conditional periphrases is discussed above in connection with the reinterpretation of certain forms as pluperfects; aspect in both future and conditional peri-phrases in their original functions is dealt with fully in 1.2.2. The role of aspect in imper-atives is discussed in 1.3, and in subjunctives in their various functions in 1.2.2, 1.3, 1.5,

2.2, and 2.3; and Chapter 3 *passim*. In all cases apart from the infinitival future and conditional periphrases and pluperfects deriving from the latter, the perfective/imperfective opposition is fully operational, with relevant forms built to both stems.

Future time reference is an inherent property of imperatives, and in part of future/modal and conditional forms – but not when these are being used in a purely modal way to denote possible/hypothetical situations outside the temporal structure of the "real world", or in lieu of infinitives to denote actions conceived without reference to time. Thus conditionals are normally modal but are also used, albeit rarely, as "real" futures-in-the-past, i.e. to denote events in the future relative to a past-time reference point:

ἔβλεπεν εἰς ὀνείρατα ὁπού <u>ἔμελλε νὰ γίνονται</u>   16th c., *Vios Iosif.* 270.2–3

ἐθάρρου πὼς <u>εἴχασιν</u> οἱ ἔγνοιες μου <u>νὰ πάψου</u>
                    17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* IV 160–1

Similarly, subjunctives complementing control predicates (2.2) are not themselves future-referring, but they are also used to refer to the "real" future in main clauses (1.2.2, Rule (7)) and some subordinate clauses (3.4), as well as to give commands (1.3, Rule (13)).

NOTES

(i)   There are some possible examples in documents from the Pontic region of the generalized (and so aspectually neutral) use of imperfective subjunctives; this usage later became the norm in that area, though perfective forms are still very much in use in the period of this Grammar:

ἐὰν <u>ἔρκεστιν</u>, ἐλᾶτε μὲ τοῦ Κορέλλι τὸν ἀποκριχιάρη, καὶ κανείς μὴ σᾶς γνώση, καὶ ἐλᾶτε νὰ σᾶς συντύχω ἀπὸ στομάτου μου
                    1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 168–9.5–7

4.4.6   Gerunds and Participles

(51) Gerunds are active in form (even from deponent verbs) and are built to either the imperfective or perfective stem; the former usually marks eventualities overlapping with the action described by the main verb, the latter eventualities preceding it, in accordance with their aspectual properties (i.e. in the default case an eventuality viewed as ongoing is taken to be contemporaneous with the main-clause event, one viewed as complete as preceding it).

Perfective forms are in decline in LMedG/EMG and the forms attested increasingly come from a small number of verbs with strong aorist stems whose ending -οντας coincides with the productive imperfective ending; weak aorist -σοντας is hard to find beyond the clichéd περάσοντας with temporal subject. Imperfective forms are then used with perfective as well as imperfective force.

For other aspects of gerundial syntax see 3.4.4.2, Rule (37).

Imperfective Force (imperfective forms)

ὁ <u>καστελλᾶνος</u> παρευτύς, <u>οὐ μὴ σκοπῶντα</u> δόλον, εἶπεν καὶ ὑποσχήθη τοῦ νὰ τὸν
          δεχτῇ εἰς τὸ κάστρον   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8237–8

<u>σιμώνοντας ἡ ὥρα νὰ γεννηθῇ ὁ Χριστός</u>, ἦλθεν ἀπὸ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς μέγα φῶς
                    16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.7–8

<u>φαίνοντάς τους δίκαιαν καὶ τιμημένη</u> ... <u>ἡ αὐτὴ σούπλικα</u>
                    1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 35.7–9

<u>πᾶσα γνωστικὸς ἄνθρωπος</u>, <u>δὲ κατέχοντας</u> πότες ἔχει νὰ τοῦ ἔλθη αὐτὸς ὁ θάνατος, πρέπει καὶ τυχαίνει νὰ ὀρδινιαστῇ
                    1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 14, 35.5–6

<u>ἐρχοντάς μου εἰς τὸ Χτῆμαν</u> ἦρτεν ὁ Χακη-Αὐγουστῆς
                    1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 1, 3.10

<u>κάθοντά σου εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν</u>, γελᾶς ἢ συντυχαίνεις;
                    17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 406.389

Perfective Force (both perfective and imperfective forms)

<u>διαβόντα γὰρ μικρὸς καιρὸς</u> ἀπέθανε ἡ κουντέσσα   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8001

<u>διαβαίνοντα ὀλλίγες ἡμέρες</u>, ἐσηκωθήσαν ἀπὲ τὸ σπιτάλλιν φρέρηδες
                    16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 4.3–4

<u>γρικῶντα ἡ μάνα του</, ὀρδινίασεν</u> τὸ φᾶν του εἰς τὴν ἀρχιεπισκοπήν
                    16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 46.15–16

τὴν ἕτερην ... νὰ τήνε μοιράζουν ... ὁ υἱός του ... μὲ τὸν ἄγκονά του ..., <u>ἀποτυχόντας (σ)του</u> τοῦ προειρημένου κυρ Ἀλίσαντρου
                    1579, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 5, 23.14–16

<u>ἀποθανόντας τοῦ καλογέρου</u>, ν' ἀπομένη τὸ λεγόμενο ἀμπέλι στὰ παιδιὰ τοῦ ἄνωθεν Λιγνοῦ   1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 92, 108.10–11

<u>περάσοντας ὀλίγος καιρός</u>, ἐμάζωξε τὰ φουσσᾶτα του
                    17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 34.11

<u>ἰδόντας</u> ὁ Μπαγιαζίτης ὅτι νικᾶται ὑπὸ του ἐκθροῦ του ..., ἐσκιάκτη μήπως καὶ ἔλθη ὁ Σακοῦκος ὁ Περσιάνος   17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.23–5

<u>ἐκεῖνος</u> ... δὲν ἠμπορεῖ νὰ μάθη τὴν φύσιν ἐκεινῶν ὁπού δὲν εἶναι· καὶ <u>δὲν μαθαίνοντάς τα</u>, δὲν ἠμπορεῖ νὰ τὰ ἰδῇ καλά   17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34. 32–5

(52) Perfect passive participles are used in periphrases with εἶμαι/ἔχω throughout the medieval period with stative force: no perfective/imperfective contrast can be expressed.

In the period from ca. 15th c. onwards this construction is increasingly grammaticalized in southern areas as a true perfect/pluperfect, albeit with the stative function partly retained (see above on perfect, pluperfect and future perfect indicatives for relevant examples).

(53) All other inflected participles, active and mediopassive, are marked systematically for the perfective/imperfective opposition; but these forms are residual in LMedG/EMG and employed primarily as "higher" stylistic variants of the gerund or in clichéd phrases.

Participles may have overt subjects or empty subject positions referentially controlled by the subject of the main verb. Overt subjects may be either nominative (the norm) or genitive

(in deference to the ancient genitive absolute construction), but with no requirement that the subject–participle combination should be a true absolute construction with its subject referentially independent of all noun phrases in the main clause.

Clitic pronouns in subject function are standardly inflected in the genitive in the absence of weak nominative pronouns that could be used in this position.

In all but the most classicizing styles, the syntax of participles reflects that of gerunds in that participial subjects must be either referentially autonomous or subject-orientated (i.e. if it is to be coreferential with a main-clause constituent, this can only be the subject).

See 3.4.4.2, Rule (37) for examples.

4.4.7   Infinitives

(54) Active and mediopassive infinitives are marked for aspect, but in several infinitival constructions one aspect stem is favoured over the other (sometimes exclusively so) with a corresponding loss in the formal expression of aspectual contrast.

In LMedG/EMG infinitives are used regularly only in:

- grammaticalized future/conditional and pluperfect periphrases (1.2.2, and cf. above on pluperfects)
- the VPs of subordinate clauses as a variant form of complement to control, modal and aspectual verbs (2.2)
- one form of indirect question (2.4, Rule (31) NOTE (ii))
- as nominalized sentence adjuncts with a temporal/causal function similar to that of gerunds (3.4, Rule (36); 3.8)

Loss of aspectual contrast applies in particular to:

- the grammaticalized periphrases (see 1.2.2 for futures/conditionals; infinitives in pluperfects are almost always perfective, cf. above)
- the complements to aspectual verbs (imperfective only)
- the nominalized adverbials corresponding to temporal/causal clauses (perfective only)

In all these surviving infinitival constructions the subject position is referentially controlled by the main-verb subject.

Other than in styles admitting high levels of learned/classicizing influence, infinitival constructions that allowed overt (accusative) subjects in AG are no longer employed.

Infinitives may no longer be negated in their own right and only the governing verb can have a negative particle.

Complement to Control Verbs

εἴτις δὲ βουληθῇ κατελῦσαι τὸ παρὸν γράμμαν, νὰ ἔνι ἀσυγχώρητος

14th–15th c., Athos, Lefort et al. 1995: 95, 148.14–15

Complement to Modal/Aspectual Verbs

ἐκίνησαν τὰ σάλια μου, Χριστέ, νὰ τὴν ἐπιάσα, ... νὰ ἠρξάμην ρουκανίζειν

14th c./12th c., Ptoch. IV 219–21

λέγει καὶ διερμηνεύει τὸ πῶς ὁ λίζιος ἄνθρωπος χρεωστεῖ ποιῆσαι τοῦτο

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7570–1

In Indirect Questions

τὸ τί ποιήσει οὐκ εἴχασιν

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 4084

Adverbial (temporal/causal)

τὸ ἰδεῖ τον ὁ μισὶρ Ντζεφρές, γλυκέα τὸν ἀποδέχτη

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8231

For further examples see the various sections noted above.

5   Nouns and Noun Phrases

A Noun Phrase (NP) in LMedG/EMG consists of a "head" noun or pronoun in construction with any complements it may require (see 5.2) and/or any optional adjuncts (see 5.1.4, Rule (69), and 5.3). NPs are the constituents of sentences used to refer to extralinguistic entities, and therefore nouns/pronouns are normally the heads of NPs even when they appear alone without complementation or modification.

Nominal expressions are characterized by values for the categories of *person* (1, 2, 3), *number* (singular, plural), *gender* (masculine, feminine, neuter) and *case* (nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive; and residually, dative). Head nouns/pronouns share the values assigned to these categories with the NPs containing them, and any adjuncts that are capable of bearing the appropriate morphological marking (articles, demonstratives, quantifiers, adjectives) agree with the heads they modify in number, gender and case; there is no formal marking of agreement in person. Complements, however, do not agree and are assigned specific grammatical markers by their heads as detailed in 5.2.

Person is a deictic category, i.e. one involving reference to extralinguistic entities. Its values are determined from the viewpoint of the speaker/writer as the 1st person, making the audience/reader the 2nd person(s) and any other participants in the discourse the 3rd person(s). Pronouns may be 1st, 2nd or 3rd person, but nouns are 3rd person unless the NPs containing them appear in apposition to 1st- or 2nd-person pronouns, and vocatives are inherently linked to 2nd-person pronouns, whether overt or covert; honorific circumlocutions such as ἡ εὐγενεία σου/σας etc. are also often treated as 2nd person.

NPs referring to countable objects are headed by count nouns, and their number is determined by whether the objects in question are "one" (singular) or "more than one" (plural); singular is the default number for NPs headed by non-count nouns, e.g. a mass noun like ἄμμος or an abstract noun like δικαιοσύνη. There is no compelling evidence for the use of the 2nd person plural to address individuals as a mark of politeness, for which circumlocutions of the type "your excellency" are regularly used instead (see above): note that the use of a plural possessive pronoun with a singular head noun in such cases typically involves more than one addressee, as ὅλοι ἀντάμα in the example below makes clear:

ἡ εὐγενεία <u>σας ὅλοι ἀντάμα</u> θέ<u>λετε</u> ἀποκαταστήσει τίς νὰ ἀπομείνη

1465, Rome, Lambros 1930: 286.22–3

The occasional anaphoric use of 3 sg. pronouns in connection with these circumlocutions is partly a matter of the flexibility of the grammar of anaphora, but may also reflect contemporary Romance practice:

ἡ παροῦσα μου ταπεινὴ δὲν εἶναι διὰ ἄλλην αἰτίαν πάρεξ νὰ <u>τῆς</u> ἀναγγείλω

(= τῆς μακαριότητάς σου)   1658, Cyprus, Tsirpanlis 1973: 106, 160.5–7

Monarchs *vel sim.* may employ the 1st person plural of themselves:

<u>ἐμεῖς</u> … ρήγας τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων … λαλοῦ<u>μεν</u> ὁσόσοι μᾶς γροικοῦσιν τῆς αὐτῆς γραφῆς   16th c./15th c., Machairas, *Chron.* V 54.23–5

First- and second-person pronouns have no inherent/grammatical gender. Those denoting humans are standardly treated as masculine or feminine according to the biological sex of the individual(s) involved; 1st- and 2nd-person pronouns may also be treated as neuter when the relevant individuals would be denoted in the 3rd person by a neuter NP, e.g. 1st-person ἐμεῖς when used by anthropomorphic ζῶα in an allegory etc. Unlike 1st- and 2nd-person pronouns, 3rd-person pronouns have distinct masculine, feminine and neuter forms. The gender of those with *deictic* function is also closely associated with biological sex, i.e. masculine or feminine for humans, neuter for everything else. By contrast, the gender of *anaphoric* 3rd-person pronouns normally follows that of their antecedents, e.g. neuter plural αὐτά/τά referring back to neuter plural τὰ κορίτσια etc. In the event of gender conflict (e.g. in coordinated expressions), masculine is the default choice for pronouns referring back to mixed-gender NPs denoting humans, provided that at least one is male:

<u>νέους</u> καὶ <u>νὲς ἀνύπανδρους</u>, γιατὶ νὰ <u>τοὺς</u> ἐπάρης;   16th c., Glykys, *Penth. Than.* 89

Neuter is selected for those referring to mixed-gender NPs denoting non-humans/inanimates:

ὁ θυμὸς καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία, διατί <u>αὐτάνα</u> ἐγενήκασιν ἀπὸ τὸν δημιουργὸν … σύντροφοι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως   17th c., Venetzas, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34.6–7

By contrast, grammatical gender *is* an inherent property of nouns. There are partial correlations between particular genders and particular declensional classes/subclasses, and nouns denoting male or female human beings are often assigned masculine or feminine gender accordingly (see Part II for details), but the grammatical gender of common nouns is for the most part semantically arbitrary.

The case of a NP is determined by the grammatical and/or semantic function it carries within a sentence (see 5.1 for details).

5.1   Uses of the Cases

5.1.1   Nominative

(55) The nominative is the case of the subjects of finite verb forms (whether overt or omitted), and of the nominal/adjectival complements of copular verbs, which agree with their associated subjects in (number and) case: see also 1.1.

<u>ὀδύνες</u> τὴν καρδίαν μου κατέτρωναν μερίμνων   ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.8r.3–4

ἐστράφησαν εἰς τὴν Φραγκίαν <u>τινὲς πλεῖστοι κλερᾶδες</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 514

σκοτεινιάζει με <u>τὸ σπίτιν</u> τοῦ γειτόνου   16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 593

With Subject Complements

<u>αὐτὲς</u> ἔνι <u>οἱ ὑπόληψες</u> τῶν πρωτινῶν ἀνθρώπων   16th c./15th c., Limen., *Than. Rod.* 606

ἀπού ἀγαπᾶ τὴν ψεματινὴν δόξαν, [₃ₛg. ∅] ἔνι <u>φουμιστὴς</u> τοὺς παιγνιδοφουμιστάδες

16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 131.14–15

ἂν [₂ₛg. ∅] εἶσαι <u>Χρυσταλλένη</u>, μηδὲν εἶναι <u>ἡ καρδιά</u> σου <u>διαμαντένη</u>

16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 92.12–13

(56) The nominative is the case of the omitted subjects of infinitives and gerunds/participles that are controlled by the subject of the main verb (as confirmed by nominative subject complements); see also 2.2, Rules (25) and (29), 3.4, Rules (36) and (37), Chapter 4, Rules (51)–(54).

Infinitive

πῶς ... νὰ [₃ₛg. ∅] καταδέξεται [[₃ₛg. ∅] <u>γενεῖ</u> εἰς αὐτοὺς <u>καπετάνος</u>;]

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 233–6

<u>ἐκεῖνοι</u> ἐκατέλαβαν, [₃ₚl. ∅] <u>τὸ λάβει</u> τὰ πιττάκια

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7855

Gerund

<u>ὁ καστελλᾶνος</u> παρευτύς, [₃ₛg. ∅] <u>οὐ μὴ σκοπῶντα</u> δόλον, ... ὑποσχήθη τοῦ νὰ τὸν δεχτῇ

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8237–8

(57) The nominative is the default case of the *overt* subjects of nominalized infinitives with adverbial function and of gerunds/participles in absolute constructions.

But weak pronominal subjects are genitive in the absence of nominative clitics, and there is some wider use of genitive subjects in higher registers; see also 3.4, Rules (36) and (37); Chapter 4, Rules (51)–(54).

Infinitive

<u>τὸ ἀκούσει ὁ Ροῦσος ντὲ Σουλῆ</u> ..., εὐθέως ἐσυγκατέβηκεν κ᾽ ἰσιάστησαν εἰς τοῦτο

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7927–8

Gerund

καὶ <u>γροικῶντα κάτινες καβαλλάριδες πιστοὶ</u> τοῦ ρηγός, εἶπαν τὸ πρᾶγμαν τοῦ ρηγός

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 42.33–4

Genitive Subjects

<u>καθεζομένης τῆς Ἀφεντίας</u>, ὑπῆγε καὶ ἐπροσκύνησεν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ γράμμα τοῦ μπάϊλου τοῦ Γαλατᾶ ἔδειξεν

16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 15–17

<u>ἐρχοντάς μου</u> εἰς τὸ Χτῆμαν ἦρτεν ὁ Χακη-Αὐγουστῆς

1619, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 1, 3.10

NOTE

(i) The nominative is also not infrequently used as a default case for loosely connected topics that are linked referentially rather than syntactically (i.e. by case agreement) to elements in the following clause:

<u>οἱ Φράγκοι</u> γὰρ ἐκ τὴν στερεὰν ἦτον ὁ πόλεμός <u>τους</u>

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 546

<u>ἡ παρθένος Μαρία</u> τε Λουζουνία ..., ἐρμάσαν <u>την</u>

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 58.32–3

5.1.2   Vocative

(58) The vocative is the case of NPs used to address people or things.

Vocative NPs may be used alone to attract the addressee's attention or more usually may appear as adjuncts to sentences whose content the speaker/writer wishes to draw to the addressee's attention.

<u>ψυχή μου κακοτύχερε</u>, μίαν ἐχάρης ὥραν καὶ λύπη διεδέξατο ἄπαυστος τὴν χαράν σου

13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 196–7

<u>κερά, κερά μαγκίπισσα</u>, τὸ πῶς ἀκούεις οὐκ οἶδα

14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 172

<u>πρίγκιπα</u>, ἐσὺ θεωρεῖς κ᾽ ἐβλέπεις τὸ ἀτός σου

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4222

<u>ὦ βραχιόνοι σιδηροὶ καὶ στήθη μαρμαρένα</u>, καὶ ποία γῆ σᾶς ἔκρυψεν καὶ ἐκατεκάλυψέ σας;

15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 3392–3

γιὰ μίλειε, <u>γάιδαρε</u>, ὄμορφα γῆ ἔρχομαι νὰ σοῦ βγάλω τὰ γένια σου!

17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* III.461–2

NOTE

(i) The nominative is sometimes used in place of the vocative, usually with the definite article and/or in apposition to a preceding vocative, implying an equative meaning ("you/X, (who are) the Y"):

τί ᾽ναι ἐκεῖνα, <u>ὁ θεῖος μου</u> ...;

15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 759

ἐξέβης, <u>ἡ κυρ᾽ ἀλωποῦ</u>, νὰ μᾶς φιλοσοφήσῃς;

15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 204

ἆ, πῶς λαλεῖς, <u>ἡ μάννα μου</u>;

16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1077

λέγει την ὁ Ἄγγελος τὸ «Χαῖρε, <u>ἡ Μαρία</u>»

15th c., *Diig. Ven.* 29

<u>Κύριε, Κύριε, ὁ Θεός μου</u>, ἐσύ με ἐπροεῖπες ὅτι μετ᾽ ἐμένα εἶσαι

16th c., DAM. STOUD., *This., Logos* 17, o7v.24 (1561)

<u>ὦ ψυχή μου, σινιόρα Δουλτσινέα, τὸ ἄνθος τῆς εὐμορφίας</u>, βοήθησε αὐτὸν τὸν καβαλιέρην σου

18th c., *Don Kis.* 52.21–2

5.1.3   Accusative

5.1.3.1   Complements of Verbs

Accusative of the Direct Object

(59) In the default case, transitive verbs mark their direct object NPs (and in relevant cases nominal/adjectival direct object complements) in the accusative case.

καὶ καθαιροῦσιν <u>τὸν παπᾶν</u>!

13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 271

παρακουῶ <u>τοὺς λόγους</u> του καὶ οὐ ποιῶ <u>τὸ θέλημάν</u> του

13th–14th c./?12th c., *Spaneas* P 280

ἐγὼ <u>ὑμᾶς</u> ἐνθυμοῦμαι ..., πλέον δὲ πάντων <u>σέ, τὸν ἐμὸν ποθητὸν καὶ ἀγαπητόν μου υἱόν</u>

14th c., Cyprus, KODER et al. 2001: 245, 426.35–6

ἀνάπαψεν <u>τὰ ἄλογα</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1749

θέλομεν διηγήσασθαι <u>τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν μέγαν</u>   15th–16th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 752

ἐσὺ μ̓ ἐντρόπιαζες ... κ̓ ἐγάμειες <u>τὴ μάνα</u> μου καὶ ... δὲ σοῦ εἶπα <u>τίποτας,</u> κ̓ ἐσύ, γιὰ
μία βολὰ ποὺ ἐγάμησα <u>τὴ γυναίκα</u> σου, κάνεις ἔτσι;   16th c., *Nov.* I 156.14–16

<u>τὴν Ῥώμην</u> ἠπήραμεν καὶ <u>τὲς θαλάσσες, τὰ νησία ὅλα</u>   16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 244.9 (Lolos)

παρακαλεῖ καὶ <u>τὴν δικαιοσύνη</u> νὰ <u>τὲς</u> συμπαθήσῃ
                                                 1672, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 13, 10.3

With Direct Object Complements

καὶ <u>τὴν ἑτέραν ἀδελφὴν τῆς κόρης</u> νὰ τοῦ δώσω, νὰ τοῦ <u>τὴν</u> δώσω <u>σύζυγον,</u>
<u>σύγαμβρον</u> νὰ <u>τὸν</u> ἔχω   16th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* α 4543-4 app. crit. (N)

οὐκ ἐποίησαν <u>αὐτὸν μέγαν μάστορην</u>   17th c./16th c., *Ekth. Chron.* 71.25

NOTES

(i)   A double accusative construction is characteristic of verbs meaning "teach (someone something)", "inform (someone [of] something)". This option is also attested with verbs meaning "dress X (in)", "exchange X (for)", "spend X (on)", "fill X (with)", "free X (from)"; in these cases, however, the second accusative may be replaced, especially in EMG texts, by an indirect object (formally distinguishable only when the genitive is used, see Rules (60) and (66)) or a prepositional phrase, according to the individual preferences of the verb in question.

πολλὰ <u>τὸν</u> ἔχω εὐκαιρητὴν ... ὅπου διδάξῃ <u>γράμματα</u> ποτέ του <u>τὸ παιδίν του</u>
                                                13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 208–9

παρήγγειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ... μόνη ἐκείνη ... νὰ <u>σὲ</u> ἀλλάξῃ <u>ῥωμαϊκόν, δεσποινικὸν</u>
<u>ἱμάτιν</u>   ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.3r.11–16

τί ἀντίσηκον καλὸν νὰ <u>σὲ</u> <u>τὸ</u> ἀντιμέψω;   15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 3760

ἐπληροφόρεσέ <u>τον</u> <u>τὸν θάνατον</u> τοῦ πρίγκιπος καὶ <u>τὴν κατάστασίν</u> του
                                                14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7825–6

<u>δένδρη μεγάλα</u> κ̓ <u>ἑρπετὰ κι ἄλλα θηριὰ</u> τῆς φύσης, ... ἐγέμισεν ἡ κτίσις
                                                15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 21–2

<u>γέροντα Σαρακηνὸν</u> <u>γράμματα</u> μὴ μανθάνῃς   16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 51

ἂν ἦτον ἀργυρόκουπα ὁ οὐρανὸς ..., νὰ μὲ <u>τὸν</u> ἐγεμίζασιν <u>ἄσπρο κρασὶν ἀκράτον</u>
                                                16th c./15th c., *Krasop.* AO 93

<u>κόκκινα</u> δὲν <u>σὲ</u> ντύννω, βιβλιόν μου   16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 2.17

ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ... ἔντυσεν <u>τοὺς Πέρσας ὅλους φορεσίαν</u> ὡσὰν οἱ Μακεδόνες
ἐβαστοῦσαν, καὶ <u>τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὅλους</u> ἐφόρεσεν <u>Περσικὴν φορεσίαν</u>
                                                16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 308.18–20 (Lolos)

τὰ ἄσπρα ποὺ εἶναι ἐδῶ, θαρρῶ ... νὰ <u>τὰ</u> ψωνίσω <u>κερί</u>
                                                1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 14, 216.8–9

With Intransitive and Passive Verbs (principal object of transitive verb > subject)

καὶ λυτρωθοῦμεν <u>τον</u> γοργόν, νὰ μὴ μᾶς παραβλέπῃ   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 528

τότε νὰ ἐλευθερωθῇς <u>τὴν λύπην καὶ τοὺς πόνους</u>   15th c., *Peri xen.* 324

ὁ ῥήγας ἐγέμωσεν <u>χολὴν</u> καὶ λαλεῖ τους   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 232.10

With (Passive) Adjectives with Related Meanings

ἦτον ὁ κόσμος σκοτεινὸς καὶ <u>τὰ νερὰ γεμᾶτος</u>   15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 11

μαξιλάρια δύο <u>γιομᾶτα πτερὸ</u> καινούργια   1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 14, 13.8–9

With Indirect Object (Genitive NP or PP) Substituted for Second Accusative

οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς <u>τοῦ</u> ἐφόρεσαν τὸ μανδύον τὸ πατριαρχικὸν
                                                16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 181

γέμισε τοῦτο τὸ φλασκὶ κρασί, altri dicono <u>ἀπὸ κρασί</u>
                                                17th c., GERMANO, *Grammar* 104.9–10

νὰ τοῦ κάμῃ μόδο νὰ ἐλευθερωθῇ <u>ἀπὸ τὴ σκλαβία</u>
                                                1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 1999a: 1, 277.7

(ii) Ἔχω combines with a number of bare accusative nouns with meanings in the range "need/desire/power" to form a kind of periphrastic verb that in turn may take (*inter alia*) a direct object NP in the accusative (± an object complement):

ἐσέναν <u>εἶχε-θέλημα</u> ἄντρα τοῦ νὰ μὲ δώσῃ   15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 2237

εἴτι θέλεις κάμε με, <u>ἔχεις- με -ἐξουσίαν</u>
                                         15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 752 transcr. (Panayotopoulou/Lendari)

διὰ τοῦτο <u>ἔχομεν-χρεία πολλοὺς</u> ὅπου νὰ μᾶς διδάρουσι
                                                17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 30.1–2

Accusative of the Indirect Object

(60) In northern areas, including Constantinople and much of Asia Minor, the indirect object (marked dative in AG) may be expressed by an accusative NP.

Alternatively a prepositional phrase headed by εἰς/σέ or πρός + accusative may be used. Such PPs appear in this function *in all locations*, especially in later periods, and are most usually substituted for NPs headed by other than 1st/2nd-person pronouns.

Accusative indirect objects, especially pronominal ones, also appear sporadically in southern areas as an alternative to the usual genitive of the indirect object (for which see 5.1.4).

Northern Areas + Texts of Uncertain Provenance

κατονείδιζε καὶ <u>εἰπέ τον</u> ὅσα θέλεις   13th–14th c./?12th c., *Spaneas* P 127

ποῖον μαντάτον νὰ <u>ὑπάγωμεν τὴν ταπεινήν μας μάνα;</u>   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 93

<u>ἐπώλησα ἐσὲν παπᾶ Θεόδωρον τὸν ἐξάδελφόν μου</u> τὸ ὁσπίτιν εἰς Διανίαχαν
                                                1260, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 17, 8.1–2

<u>ἔδωκα ἐσὲν παπᾶ Θεόδωρον τὸν γαμβρόν μου</u> τόπον τὸ Λεγνάκιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀλόγου
καὶ τῶν κρικίων   1260, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 19, 8.1–2

χρεωστεῖ με καὶ ὁ Παῦλος χοινικ(ὸν) κριθάρ(ιν)
1269, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 52, 29.32

καὶ τὴν πρόσταξιν ἐκείνου ἀμφοτέρως διηγοῦνται τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς εἶπεν
15th c./14th c., ERMON., Ilias 1.258–60

ἐκεῖνον δώσω τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 66

καὶ δός με ἀπὸ τὰ φουσσάτα σου ἐκείνους τοὺς θέλω   15th c./?14th–15th c., Achil. L 87

ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ... γραφὴν γράφει, ἀντίγραμμα στέλνει αὐτοὺς ὀπίσω
16th c./14th–15th c., Achil. O 209–10

ἄφηκα τὸν παπᾶ Τζουάνην κεχρὶ κιλὰ δώδεκα
15th c., Meteora, VEIS et al. 1998: 225, 246, f.163v.10

εἰς ἄρχων ἔστειλε τὸν δοῦλον του, νὰ τὸν ἀγοράσῃ πουλιὰ γενεὲς τρεῖς
post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 53, 44.1–2

τοῦτος ὁ Ἡρώδης ἦτον ἀλλόφυλος ... καὶ ὑποτάσσοτον τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς Ρώμης
16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 341.5–7

Southern Areas

εἶχεν γὰρ ὁ κὺρ Θεόδωρος, ἐκεῖνος ποῦ σὲ λέγω, υἱοὺς τρεῖς καὶ ἐξαίρετους
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 3537–8

πρόσεξε ... τὰ ἔμπατα, τὸ πόσοι τὰ φυλάγουν, νὰ μὲ τὸ εἰπῇς ..., νὰ μὲ τὸ
διερμηνέψῃς, [καὶ μὴ τολμήσῃς νὰ τὸ εἰπῇς ἀνθρώπου γεννημένου]
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8214–17

τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐποίκασι, λόγον οὐδὲν τὸν λέγουν   15th c./14th c., Pol. Tr. 1357

[ἐφανίσθη μου κ' ἔτρεχα εἰς λιβάδιν ὡραιωμένον ...] ... κ' ἐφάνη με ὀκ' ἐδίωχνα με
θράσος ἐλαφίνα   16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, Apok. A 5–9

λέγει με   16th c./15th c., [FALIEROS], Erot. En. 42

ὁ Χάρος εὗρηκέ με καὶ σφονδυλίαν μὲ ἔδωσεν καὶ εἰς μίαν ἐσκότωσέ με
16th c./15th c., ?Crete, Om. Nekr. Vas. 59–60

[ὅπου ... τοῦ πτωχοῦ δανείζει] ... ἐκεῖνον τὸν χαρίζει την ἄμετρον γλυκύτητα
16th c./15th c., ?Crete, Om. Nekr. Vas. 111–13

ὁ ἐνδιάθετος νόμος, ὃν ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ· ὃ ἐσὺ μισεῖς, ἑτέρῳ μὴ ποιήσῃς
17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 407.409

Prepositional Phrases (attested in all areas)

τὸ κορμί μου δίδω το σήμερα εἰς ἐσένα   15th c./?14th–15th c., Achil. L 727

πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγαν οἱ συγγενεῖς τῆς κόρης   16th c./?14th–15th c., Achil. O 618

καὶ ἱκετικῶς ἀναφέρουσι πρὸς τὴν πανιερότητά σου ὅτι γραφὴν τῆς πανιερότητός
σου εἴδασιν   1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174.6–7

ἀπὸ κεῖ ἔστειλε 'ς τὸν Ἰωάννη βασιλέα Παλαιολόγο ὅτι ...
17th c., Chron. Tourk. Soult. 25.11

NOTES

(i)   Verbs, including impersonal verbs, that in AG governed or allowed the inclusion of a dative NP denoting an affected/interested party (e.g. as experiencer, beneficiary, victim etc.) may similarly assign the accusative in LMedG/EMG; such accusatives are once again in competition with the genitive, largely on a north/south basis (cf. above).

Accusative for AG Dative

ἂν οὐ πιασθῇ καὶ δαμασθῇ ..., ὡς ὄρνεον πετάζεται, δοκοῦν τον ὅλα ὁμάλιν
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 128–9

κἂν καὶ κίνδυνος ..., κἂν θάνατος ἐπώδυνος μὲ πρόκειται ἀπὸ τούτου, ...
τολμήσειν θέλω ... τὰ τῆς τιμῆς σου πάντα ... κατὰ λεφτὸν νὰ γράψω
?12th c. or 13th–14th c., Eisit. f.5v.5–14

ἐγώ εἰμαι, λέγει, ἀδελφέ· μή με τὸ ἀπιστήσῃς   14th c., Log. parig. L 108

φαίνεταί τον στὸ σπίτιν του εὑρίσκεται ἀπέσω   15th c., Peri xen. 34

ἔπρεπέ τον νὰ 'φόρεσε μαντὶ καὶ καμηλαύχι   16th c., Kakop. 127

διὰ ποία 'φορμή μὲ τὰ κρατᾶς αὐτοῦ (καὶ δὲν θέλεις νὰ μοῦ στείλῃς τὸ πράγμα
μου;)   1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 13, 215.3–4

ἐμισέψασι ... χάνοντας καὶ κάμποσα φλωρία, ποὺ τοὺς ἐφάγασι οἱ Λιδορικιῶτες
18th c., EFTHYM., Chron. Gal. 42.8–13

Genitive for AG Dative

κ' ἐκεῖνοι οὐδὲν τοῦ ἐποίκασιν τίποτε πονηρίαν   14th c., Chron. Mor. H 5266

ὅταν σὲ φθάσῃ αὐθέντης σου, ἀνάσκελα μοῦ πέφτεις καὶ τάχα μὲ τοὺς πόδας σου
θέλεις νὰ βοηθᾶσαι   15th c./14th c., Poulol. 66–7

τί μοῦ σεῖς τὸ μουστάκιν σου ἀπάνω τε καὶ κάτω;   15th c./14th c., Diig. tetr. 128

καὶ ἔρχουνται τοῦ πρώτου φλουριὰ ια' αθ/γα, [ὁ δεύτερος τὸν ἔρχουνται φλουριὰ
ιγ' εα/θγ, τὸν τρίτον ἔρχουνται φλουριὰ ιδ' βς/γα]
post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 61, 48.9–10

χαιρέτα μου τὴν μητέραν μου   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 410.20

κάλλιον ἔναι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νὰ κείτεται ἀπὸ μεγάλην ἀνάγκην, περὶ νὰ ἔχῃ τὰ
βάρη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου   16th c., Diig. Alex. F 28.18–21 (Konstantinopoulos)

αὐτεῖνοι τοῦ συγχύζουσι τὸν λαόν   17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas. 39.19

(ii) Verbs that in AG took genitive complements (e.g. ἀκούω, for the source of a sound), or dative complements other than indirect objects etc. (e.g. ἀκολουθῶ, βοηθῶ), may also assign the accusative in LMedG/EMG. The accusative again competes with the genitive (both original and as a dative substitute), in part on the north/south basis already explained. But verbs whose meaning supported reinterpretation as "ordinary" transitives eventually come to take the accusative everywhere (e.g. βοηθῶ); in southern regions, however, those verbs that had substituted the genitive for an original dative

were assimilated to the transitive paradigm more slowly and the process continues into the modern era. Correspondingly, prepositions are increasingly used in all areas to support NPs that were clearly felt to be insufficiently object-like (e.g. ἀκούω κάτι ἀπὸ κάποιο(ν)).

Accusative for AG Dative (ἀκολουθῶ, βοηθῶ, compounds with συν- etc.)

τὰ δὲ τυπικὰ τῶν μεγάλων μοναστηρίων ... εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ <u>συμφωνοῦν τοὺς θείους κανόνας</u> οὔτε <u>ἄλλην θείαν γραφήν</u>

12th c./11th c., Nikon, *Logos* 4 214.14–16

<u>τοὺς Φράγκους ἐμαχόντησαν</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1079

βουλὴν ἐζήτησεν αὐτῶν τοῦ νὰ <u>τὸν συμβουλέψουν</u> περὶ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ Μορέως πῶς νὰ τὸν κυβερνήση   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7829–30

<u>βοήθα τὸν ξενούτζικον</u>   15th c./?14th c., *Flor.* L 77

<u>μὲ ἐβοηθήσετε</u> κ' ἡπῆρα τὸ γονικό μου   16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 70

τώρα νὰ ἰδῶ ποῖος ἀπὸ σᾶς <u>μὲ θέλει ἀκολουθήσει</u>   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1037

εἴχαμεν σκύλον καὶ <u>ἐβοήθειν λύκον</u>   16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 88

Genitive for AG Dative (southern areas, into the modern era)

δὲν <u>μοῦ ἐβοηθούσασι</u>   16th c./15th c., *Syndipas* 121.40–1

<u>ἀκλούθησέν του</u>   16th c./15th c., Machairas, *Chron.* V 566.32

<u>βοηθᾶς μου</u>   17th c./16th c., Chortatsis, *Katz.* I.334

Accusative for AG Genitive (with NPs typically denoting a part, source or objective)

<u>τὸν πόλεμον ἀρχάσαν</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1413

νὰ σὲ εἰπῶ καὶ ἄλλον, τὸ <u>ἤκουσα τοὺς γέροντας καὶ τοὺς προπάτοράς</u> μου   15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 689–90 app. crit. (CA)

πολλὰ <u>ἐπεθύμαν βασιλείαν</u>, πολλὰ <u>ἐπεθύμα δόξαν</u>   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 2206

τοῦτο παρακαλῶ καὶ <u>δέομαι τὴν παναγιότητά</u> σου, νὰ ἔχω συγχώρησιν   1622, ?Karpathos, Zerlendis 1918d: B, 300.17–18

AG Genitive Occasionally Retained (higher styles, traditional phraseology)

ἐκεῖ ὅπου <u>ἐδέοντον τοῦ Θεοῦ</u> νὰ δώση βροχήν, τοὺς ἔπεμψε χαλάζιν μεγάλον καὶ φοβερόν   17th c., *Chron. 1619* 1149–50

καθὼς <u>μοῦ ἀκούσετε</u>   17th c., Varouchas, *Logoi* 466.42–467.1

Prepositional Phrases for Bare Cases

<u>ἀπὸ σαλοῦ καὶ μεθυστοῦ</u> τὴν ἀλήθειαν <u>ἄκουε</u>   16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 7

ὅσοι ἦσαν <u>μαχεζόμενοι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως</u>   16th c./15th c., Limen., *Velis.* (Λ) 642 app. crit.

οὔτε <u>ἀπὸ μάθημα ἐμέτεχεν</u>   17th c., Rodinos, *Vios Ign.* 61.17

ὡσὰν λαϊκὸς νὰ <u>συγκοινωνᾶ μὲ τοὺς κοσμικούς</u>   17th c., Rodinos, *Vios Ign.* 105.29

<u>ἐσυνωμίλησα</u> καὶ <u>μετὰ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου πατρός</u>   1707, Ioannina, Veloudis 1987: 13, 310, f.1r.4

5.1.3.2   Accusative Adjuncts

Accusative of Space/Extent (including measures)

(61) **The accusative is used adverbially to mark NPs denoting the space in/ throughout which something takes place, the size of a person or object, or a distance traversed; such accusatives may specify both verbs and adjectives.**

μαθὸν καὶ ποῦ ἀργαβιάζεσαι, <u>τὰ 'δῶ</u> δὲν ἔχεις τόπον   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 246 app. crit. (P)

ἦτον (γυναῖκα) <u>α ὀργυίες</u> ὑψηλὴ καὶ <u>διακόσιες ὀργυίες</u> χοντρή   16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 36.9 (Konstantinopulos)

ἤσανε (δένδρα) ὑψηλὰ <u>πῆχες ἑκατόν</u>   16th c., Kartanos, *P&N Diath.* 335.19

εἰς τὸ πατριαρχεῖον ... εἶναι γράμματα γλυπτὰ <u>τὸ γύρωθεν</u> τῆς ἐκκλησίας   1565–75, Constantinople, Foerster 1877: 7, 15.1–2

Extended/Metaphorical Uses (including fixed expressions)

<u>ἄλλον τόσον</u> εἶνε μισισμένος ἀπού 'ξ αὐτῆς μας!   16th c./15th c., Machairas, *Chron.* V 252.30

καὶ <u>τὴν ἄλλην μερέαν</u> ὅτι ... τοῦ εἶχε εἰπεῖ ὁ πασᾶς βιζίρης ὅτι νὰ μὴν πάγη νὰ πολεμήση μὲ τὸν Ταμερλάνο   17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.6–8

ὅμως, σὲ παρακαλῶ, ἀνασηκώσου <u>κομμάτι</u>   18th c., *Don Kis.* 47.6–7

NOTE

(i)   Locative NPs in the accusative case define extended areas rather than specific points in space (for which prepositional phrases headed by εἰς/σέ + accusative are normally used).

Accusative of Time

(62) **The accusative is similarly used to mark NPs denoting a period of time at/within/throughout which something takes place; the meaning may be distributive ("in/during each period X") when the context is generic, as often in legal documents.**

ἀπῆρες ὕπνον ὀλιγόν, ἐκάμμυσες <u>ὡρίτσαν</u>   13th c./12th c., Glykas, *Stichoi* 166

ψυχή μου κακοτύχερε, <u>μίαν</u> ἐχάρης <u>ὥραν</u>   13th c./12th c., Glykas, *Stichoi* 196

ἐκράτησεν ὁ γάμος τους <u>τρεῖς μῆνας</u> ἀκεραίους   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 1083

μετὰ τὸ δοῦναι τὴν ἀπόφασιν, καρτερεῖ ὁ κριτὴς <u>ἡμέρας</u> ι'   ca. 1300, Cyprus, Simon 1973: 73.170

<u>τὸ μεσόνυκτο</u> ἐγίνετον ἀστραπαὶ καὶ βροντὴ καὶ ροπὴ   1326, Cyprus, Darrouzès 1953: 41, 93.5–6

<u>τὴν νύχτα ἐκείνη</u> παρευτὺς ἔσωσεν τὸ μαντᾶτο στὸν Καμπανέσην   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1539–40

εἰς τὴν Κλαρέντσαν ἔσωσεν <u>τὸ ἔβγα</u> τοῦ μαΐου   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7848

<u>τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν</u>, ἡμέρᾳ Σαββάτῳ, ἐπέθανε ἡ μακαρισμένη ἀρχόντισσα τοῦ σιρ Τζορ Ταρτούζ   1391, Cyprus, Darrouzès 1953: 2, 88.1–2

ὀργὴν νὰ ἔλθῃ ἀπάνω του ὁπού ποτὲ ἀγάπην θελήσῃ μὲ τὸν Πρίαμον νὰ ἔχῃ <u>μίαν ἡμέραν</u>
16th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1468–9

τοῦ Αὐγούστου τὰ πεντάλιτρα <u>τὸν Μάιον ἀναζητοῦνται</u>   16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 19

ἐβλέπαν τον ἀμπέξω <u>'μέρα νύκταν</u>   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 56, 58.38, 4

<u>ἐκείνην τὴν εὐλογημένην νύκταν</u> ὁπού ἐγεννήθη ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ...,
ἐμφανίσθησαν σημεῖα πολλὰ καὶ διάφορα   16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 332.31–3

<u>τὴν σήμερον ἡμέραν</u> εἰς τὸ πατριαρχεῖον ... εἶναι γράμματα γλυπτὰ τὸ γύρωθεν τῆς
ἐκκλησίας   1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.1–2

ἤκουσαν τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ ἑνὸς μέρου καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου ... <u>μία καὶ δύο καὶ πολλάκις βολές</u>
1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 46, 43.2–4

ἐπολέμησέ την (Σουμάκια) <u>καμπόσες ἡμέρες</u>   17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.3

Idiomatic Expression

ἐτελεύτησεν καὶ αὐτήν, <u>σήμερον δέκα ἡμέρες</u>
1684, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 436, 659.15

("today ten days" = "ten days ago", cf. MG εδώ καὶ δέκα μέρες)

Distributive (= "per")

τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἑκατὸν δουκάτα <u>τὸν μῆνα</u>, ἤγουν χίλια καὶ διακόσια <u>τὸν χρόνον</u>, νὰ
ἐξοδιάζωνται εἰς τινας ἄρχοντας καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 285.6–8

νἄχουν ὀμπλιγον τὰ παιδιά μου ... νὰ βάνουν νὰ μᾶς λέσι κάθε παιδί <u>τὸν χρόνον</u>
λειτουργείαις πενήντα   1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.157

NOTE

(i)   Temporal accusatives define the period of time for which or within which something
occurs; a specific point in time at which something occurs (i.e. a temporal location
conceived as punctual – it may in fact be a particular day or month etc.) is marked
either with the dative (a traditional AG use, see 5.1.5) or a prepositional phrase headed
by εἰς/σέ + accusative.

Accusative of Respect/Accusative of Specification

**(63) NPs that are used to delimit or further specify the denotation of nouns, verbs
(normally intransitive or passive) and adjectives are often inflected in the
accusative.**

Such NPs identify a restricted domain of applicability for verbs and adjectives (e.g. "suffer
in (respect of) the heart", "bold *in (respect of) appearance*"), and normally specify the
denotation of nouns by defining contents (e.g. "a cup *of water*"), specifying varieties (e.g.
"an *olive-tree* root") or identifying what is quantified (e.g. "an acre *of wheat*"). In older
texts and in legal documents such NPs are also used with proper names and trades/crafts
(e.g. "Alexander *by name*", "a potter *by trade*").

With Nouns

ἀφίνω καὶ ἑπτὰ ἱερεῖς ἀπὸ δύο ὑπερπύρων <u>σιτάριν</u>
ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.55

θέλω νὰ ἀφηγήσωμαι περὶ τὸν Μέγαν Κύρην, μισὶρ Γυλιάμο <u>τὸ ὄνομα, τὸ ἐπίκλην</u>
ντὲ λὰ Ρότζε   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7958–9

[ἐὰν <u>αἱ τῆς σκιᾶς πῆχες θ'</u> μὲ δίδουν ξύλου ὕψος πήχας ς΄,] αἱ ζε΄ πῆχαι <u>σκιὰ</u> πόσον
ὕψος πύργου μᾶς θέλουν δώσει;
post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 17, 22.3–4

ἄφηκα τὸν παπα Τζουάνην <u>κεχρί</u> κιλὰ δώδεκα
15th c., Meteora, VEIS et al. 1998: 225, 246, f.163v.10

ἀπὸ τὸ πλοῦτος τὸ πολύ ... οὐδὲν ἐπῆρα μετ' ἐμὲν ..., εἰμὴ ἔξι πήχεις <u>σάβανον</u> κ'
ἐσαβανώσασί με   16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 65–7

δός με κοῦπα <u>νεράκι</u>, διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἄρχου σου, μὲ τὸ ἴδιο σου τὸ χεράκι
16th c./15th c., *Synax. gyn.* 393–4

ἔτι μάρτυρας παρακαλεμένος μαΐστρο Ἀνδρέας Δρούσουλας, βουτηκλάρης <u>τὴν τέχνην</u>
1515, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 43, 75.24–5

μιὰ ρίζαν <u>ἐλαία</u> καὶ συκὲς τρεῖς καὶ δύο ρίζες <u>ἀπιδές</u>
1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 9, 31.5–6

si servono anco dell'Accusativo in vece del Genitivo in questi modi di parlare: ἔναν
ποτήρι <u>νερόν</u>, un bicchier d'acqua, ἔναν κομμάτι <u>κρέας</u>, un pezzo di carne, δύο
λαγήνια κρασί, due brocche di vino, & simili   17th c., GERMANO, *Grammar* 53.25–9

ἐπροσήλωσεν εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς μονὴν εἴκοσι στρέμματα <u>ἀμπέλι</u>
1634, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 58, 156.10

ἂν ὁ μητροπολίτης ... σοῦ γυρεύσῃ νὰ δώσῃς παραπάνω ἀπὸ ταῖς δέκα ὀκάδες <u>τὸ χαβιάρι</u>, ... τίποτε παραπάνω νὰ μὴ δώσῃς
1706, Constantinople, LEGRAND 1903: 21, 59, 60.31–2, 1–2

With Verbs

<u>ταύτας τὰς τρεῖς κολάσεις</u> ἐνταῦθα <u>τὰς</u> κολάζομαι   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 226–7

Ἀγαμέμνων τηνικαῦτα <u>τὴν καρδίαν</u> ἐπικράνθη   15th c./14th c., ERMON., *Ilias* 7.102–3

νὰ ἀποσκεπάζωνται <u>τὸ κεφάλι</u> τους   1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.18

'πόνουν <u>τὸ κεφάλι</u>   16th c., ZINOS, *Vatr.* 328

With Adjectives

Ἰανουάριος ἦτον ἀπ' αὐτόν, νὰ στήκεται καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἄνθρωπος ὅλος κυνηγός, ὅλος
θαρσὺς <u>τὸ σχῆμα</u>   15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* α 1179–80

<u>τὴν ἔπαρσιν</u> ἀβάσταγος, ἀγέρωχος <u>τὸ σχῆμα</u>
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 27

<u>τ' ἄλλα πάντα</u> θαυμαστούς, [γενναίους <u>εἰς ἀνδρείαν</u>]
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 30

ὁπού 'μαι δίχα σάρκωσιν, <u>τὰ κόκκαλα</u> γλυμένος   16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 30

NOTE

(i) Use of the accusative of respect with verbs and adjectives is a residual feature of older/more literary texts and is widely replaced by prepositional phrases in later/more vernacular material.

Accusative of Exclamation

(64) NPs used in exclamations directed towards an individual are regularly inflected in the accusative (with or without an introductory particle) throughout the period of this Grammar.

ποῦ νὰ εὕρῃς ἄλλον Πρόδρομον τοιοῦτον, <u>τὴν κεφαλήν σου</u>;

15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 39

<u>τὸν Θεόν</u>, καλὲ νεώτερε, ποῦ μένουν οἱ ἀπελάτες;   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 640

ὤχω <u>μας τοὺς ἐλενούς</u>   15th c., ?Crete, KAKOULIDI 1958/59: 120

ὀγάϊ <u>τον κεῖνον</u> ποὺ εὑρεθῇ νά 'ναι μ' αὐτὴν τὴν γνώμη

16th c., GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 311

ὢ <u>τὸν ἀσεβῆ</u>!   16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 415.33

NOTE

(i) The accusative in greetings may be related, but the conventionalized ellipsis of a verb meaning "wish" provides an equally plausible explanation:

κὺρ γάδαρέ μου, <u>γειά</u> σου, χίλια καλῶς ἐβρήκαμε ἐδῶ τὴν ἀφεντιά σου

16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 11–12

"Cognate Object" Constructions

(65) Verbs may occasionally take accusative NP adjuncts with head nouns that are formally cognate.

These are not true objects (there are no corresponding passive sentences), and the fact that the NPs in question almost always contain adjectives shows that they largely replicate the role of manner adverbials (*hate a great hate = hate greatly* etc.).

ἐτζάκκισεν καὶ ἀντροπίασεν τὸν ὅρκον του ἀπὸ <u>τὴν μεγάλην μισητείαν</u> ἀπού μᾶς <u>μισᾷ</u>   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 252.28–9

<u>ἐκτύπησε</u> <u>ἕναν ἐκτύπον παράξενο</u> καὶ ἡ πέτρα ἔδωσε εἰς τὸν τοῖχο καὶ ἔκαμε μίαν τρούπα μεγάλην   ?15th–16th c., Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.15–16

ἄρχισαν νὰ κλαίουν καὶ νὰ <u>φωνάζουν</u> <u>φωνὲς μεγάλες</u>

16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 105.23

NOTES

(i) Verbs may also take adverbial NP adjuncts headed by non-cognate nouns with closely related meanings; besides those containing the usual adjective there are also reduplicated expressions indicating intensification (e.g. κλότζον τὸν κλότζον in the first example below = "[with] kick after kick" etc.):

ὁ βούβαλος ... <u>κλότζον τὸν κλότζον</u> <u>ἔκρουεν</u> τὸν πάρδον μὲ τοὺς πόδας

15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 1028–9

<u>ἔλεγεν</u> <u>φωνὴν ἀγγελικὴν καθαράν</u>, ὅτι ἐγεννήθηκεν ἀπὸ μίαν παρθένον ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.1–2

(ii) Ordinary transitive verbs may take direct objects that happen to be formally cognate, but these are obviously not "cognate object constructions" in any interesting sense:

τότε πάλιν ὁ ἀμιρᾶς <u>τοῦτον τὸν λόγον</u> <u>λέγει</u>   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 18

ἔδερναν τὸν Χριστόν, καὶ <u>παθαίνοντας</u> <u>τὰ πάθη</u> ἐχαλότον ὀλίγον κατ' ὀλίγον

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.41–2

<u>ἴντα κανίσκιν ἄσκημο</u> μ' <u>ἔχεις κανισκεμένη</u>!   17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* V.398

(iii) As a means of intensification, intransitive verbs with the core meaning "have some experience" exhibit marginal transitive uses involving NPs headed by cognate nouns or nouns of closely related meaning:

<u>τάρταρον τὸν τουρτουρισμόν</u>, <u>τὸν τουρτουρίζω</u> τώρα   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 230

κάλλιον τὸ ἔχω, <u>θάνατον</u> σήμερον <u>ν' ἀποθάνω</u> περὶ νὰ εἰποῦσιν ἀλλαχοῦ νὰ μὲ κατηγορήσουν   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1134–5

ἂν ἦτον καὶ νὰ μπόρειε <u>τὸν ὕπνον</u> <u>νὰ κοιμᾶτον</u>, ἀλησμονήσειν ἤθελεν ὀλίγον ἐκ τὴν λύπην   15th c., *Peri xen.* 23–4

5.1.4   Genitive

5.1.4.1   Complements of Verbs

Genitive of Indirect Object and Related Complements

(66) In southern areas, including S. Italy and Sicily, the indirect objects of ditransitive verbs and the complements of many other verbs that were marked dative in AG may be expressed by means of a genitive NP.

Alternatively a prepositional phrase headed by εἰς/σέ or πρός + accusative may be used. Such PPs appear in this function *in all locations*, especially in later periods, and are most usually substituted for NPs headed by other than 1st/2nd-person pronouns.

πέπρακα αὐτὸ <u>τοῦ κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου</u> διὰ νόμισμα ἕν

1076–7, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1963: 1, 46.8

νὰ <u>μὲ</u> τὸ διερμηνέψῃς (πῶς στήκει τὸ κάστρον), καὶ μὴ τολμήσῃς νὰ τὸ εἰπῇς <u>ἀνθρώπου γεννημένου</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8216–17

ἐμήνυσεν <u>τοῦ καστελλάνου</u> νὰ ἔλθη   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8228

δὲν <u>μοῦ</u> φάνη κ' ἔζησα στὰ πλούτη μιὰν ἡμέραν   16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 73

γυρεύουν ὅτι νὰ <u>τοὺς</u> δώσουν τὸν Σαμψών, ... καὶ οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται ... φοβοῦνται καὶ δίδουν τὸν Σαψὼν δεμένον <u>τῶν ἐχθρῶν</u>   16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 278.32–4

ποτέ μου δὲ <u>σοῦ</u> εἶπα τίποτας   16th c., *Nov. I* 156.15

ἀφίει καὶ <u>ἐμοῦ τοῦ νοταρίου</u> διὰ τὸν κόπον μου ὑπέρπυρα εἰκοσιπέντε
                                                            1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 165.42

ἀφήνει <u>τῆς Καντιῶς</u> ὅ,τι μερτικὸ τοῦ ἐγγίζει στὸ χωράφι τῆς Κουκουβάγιας
                                                            1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 9, 311.22

τὰ ὅσα ἔχω δοσμένα <u>τῶν ἐπιτρόπων</u>   1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 109.115

τῇ γραφῇ ... ἐλάβαμε ..., τὴν ὁποία ἐδιαβάσαμε τηνε, ὡς ἔπρεπε, <u>τοῦ δεσπότη καὶ</u>
<u>ὁλονοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ</u>   1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 305.5

With Prepositional Phrases (attested in all areas)

ἀνταπεκρίνατο <u>πρός με</u> ὁ ὑποψήφιος [λέγων <u>μοι</u> ὅτι ...]
                                                            ?1144, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 313.4–5

<u>πρός ἐκεῖνον</u> ἀποκρίθη   16th c./14th c., *Ptochol.* α 722

π(εζάν)τ(ια) τ' δομένα <u>στοὺς κάτ(ωθε) τόπο⟨υ⟩ς</u>
                                                            1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 48, 26.3

ἐδώκασιν τὸν λεγόμενον Ἀντώνη <u>εἰς τὰς χεῖρας</u> τοῦ εὐγενοῦς φρα Γιλιάμου
                                                            1491, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1988: 1, 234.26

ἀενάως στέλνων ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ <u>πρὸς αὐτούς</u> δωρεάς
                                                            17th c./16th c., *Ekth. Chron.* 40.24–5

ἐσεῖς ... ἄπονη βουλὴν ἐδώκετε <u>σ' ἐμένα</u>   18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.319

NOTE

(i) For further examples of the genitive in southern areas, specifically to mark NPs
     denoting an interested party (e.g. experiencer, beneficiary, victim etc., all marked
     dative in AG) or the complements of verbs such as ἀκολουθῶ, βοηθῶ etc. (+ dative in
     AG), see Rule (60) NOTES (i) and (ii).

Genitive Governed by Adjectives

**(67) A small number of adjectives take genitive complements in early/more
      literary texts; only ἄξιος retains this construction with any regularity in later
      periods, where it remains a learned feature.**

πάντας <u>ἀξίους</u> ἔκρινεν <u>τοῦ στέφους καὶ τοῦ κράτους</u>
                                                            16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 38

κοινὴν βουλὴν ἂς εἴπωμεν, ἂν ἔναι θελητόν σου πῶς καὶ γενοῦμεν <u>ἐγκρατεῖς τοῦ</u>
<u>κάστρου καὶ τῆς κόρης</u>   16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1032–3

ἂν οἱ προσευχὲς ... ἐνεργοῦσιν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν ταύτην, καὶ πόσον μᾶλλον μετὰ θάνατον,
εἰς ἐκείνους ὅπου εἶναι <u>ἄξιοι τῶν ἱερῶν εὐχῶν</u> ...;   16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 100

ὁπόταν ἐθέλασιν γυρέψειν νὰ πουλήσουν τίποτι, νὰ εἶναι <u>ἔκπτωτοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας</u>
καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῆς 1615, Santorini, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 9, 5.47–8

5.1.4.2   Genitive Adjuncts

**(68) Genitive NPs may be used to mark the reason for/cause of an eventuality, or
      to specify a time/place within which something occurred.**

Genitive of Reason/Cause

ἦλθε μου λακταρισμὸς νὰ πέσω ν' ἀποθάνω καὶ ν' ἀποθάνω ὁ ἐλεεινὸς <u>αἰφνίδιου</u>
<u>θανάτου</u>   15th c., *Peri xen.* 331

ὀλιγοψύχησεν πολλὰ κι ἔπεσεν <u>τοῦ θανάτου</u>   15th c., *Peri xen.* 401

μὰ κλαίγει καὶ <u>τσῆ τύχης του</u> πολλὰ παραπονᾶται
                                                            17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* III.508

ἀκόμη <u>τόγγονοῦ μου τοῦ Τζὰν Φραντζέσκο τοῦ Κορνάρο</u> ... παραπονοῦμαι
                                                            1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 79.23

μιὰ ψυχή, ἀπού εὑρίσκεται <u>τοῦ πόθου</u> ἀρρωστημένη, σφαίνει τσὶ πλιάτερες φορὲς
καὶ μένει κομπωμένη   17th c., TROILOS, *Rodol.* IV.163–4

NOTE

(i) The genitive of reason/cause may be used absolutely in a number of archaic/
     conventionalized exclamations that originate for the most part in liturgical texts and
     represent a reaction to a situation or occurrence:

     ἐνέβην ἐς τὸ ξύλον καὶ ἀρμενίσαν – ὢ τοῦ <u>θαύματος</u>! – παραῦτα ἐγίνην ζάλη καὶ
     ἦρτα νὰ πνιγοῦσιν   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 62.11–13

     παγαίνοντας εἰς τὸ σπίτι του, – ὢ τοῦ <u>θαύματος</u>! – ἀπὸ τὸ σακούλι, ὅπου ἔβαλε
     τὸ κεφάλι, ἔτρεχεν αἷμα!   16th c., DIONYS., *Istor.* 253.23–4

     ὢ τῆς <u>μακροθυμίας σου</u>, δέσποτα πολυέλεε Θεέ!
                                                            18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 25.12–13

Genitive of Place/Time

The genitive is used residually, mainly in fixed expressions, to denote an area within/via
which, or a period of time during/within which, something takes place.
Place

ἂν θέλω ... νὰ στείλω (τὰ φουσσάτα) μὲ τὰ κάτεργα νὰ ὑπάγουν <u>τῆς θαλάσσης</u> κι
ἀπαύτου ... νὰ ὑπάγουν <u>τῆς στερέας</u>, ... νὰ τὸν (= τὸν τόπον σου) ἐπάρουν
                                                            14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4233–7

Time

εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἐτήρησα <u>πολλοῦ καιροῦ</u> κτισμένη   16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 17

<u>τῆς ὥρας</u> ἐκατέβη κάτω ἀπὸ τὸ θεῖον κελίον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅρισε καὶ ἄνοιξαν τὴν
ἐκκλησίαν   16th c., MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 218.32–3

ἐκεῖ ἐπροσεύχετον <u>ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός</u>   16th c., *Martyr. Vlas.* 245.7

NOTE

(i) There are a few related phrases of the same type involving an extended use of the genitive to denote the medium of communication:

Σαρακηνὸς ἐλάλησεν τὸν ἀμιρὰν <u>τῆς γλώσσης</u>   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 21

(69) The genitive is widely used to mark NPs functioning as adnominal modifiers, i.e. that variously delimit the denotation of the head nouns they are in construction with.

It is often difficult to say what the precise meaning of a given genitive is, and any classificatory system of adnominal genitive adjuncts will necessarily be in some degree arbitrary; here they are grouped under three general headings, possession, specification and description.

Genitive of Possession/Belonging

τίς ... τὴν χαρὰν νὰ ἰσχύσῃ καταλέξειν, τίς τοῦ λαοῦ τὴν χαρμονὴν ..., τῶν <u>τῆς</u>
<u>συγκλήτου</u> πολιτῶν   ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.7v.3–10

κλίνει <u>τῶν δύων</u> τὰς κεφαλάς, <u>γαβροῦ καὶ θυγατρός του</u>
15th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 1528

συνάχθητε ὁμοῦ ὧδε σήμερον, νὰ μαδήσωμεν τὰ γένια <u>τοῦ σπανοῦ</u>
16th c./?14th–15th c., *Spanos* D 1149–50

ἀπ᾽ αὐτὰ ἐχάλασεν <u>τοῦ πρίγκιπος</u> ἡ ἀρμάτα   15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1896

στὰς δεκαπέντε <u>τοῦ μηνός</u>, λέγω τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου   16th c., ZINOS, *Alex.* Rim. Epil. 57

ὅμως ἀνέβη καὶ ἔκαμεν εἰς τὰ γόνατα <u>τοῦ Διὸς</u> τὰ αὐγά   16th c., *Vios Aisop.* K 205.5

NOTE

(i) The possessive genitive may also be used predicatively, sometimes with additional nuances:
μὴ βλέπῃς τὸ ἀπάκιν μας, οὐκ ἔνι τοῦ λάρυγγός σου   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 248
"it's not your throat's" = "for your throat"

Genitive of Specification (defining the particular case/kind, with various nuances)

<u>μονοκύθρου</u> μ᾽ ἔδωκε καθ᾽ ὕπνους μυρωδία   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 235

εἰ μὲν συμβῇ ὁ ἀφέντης του ... καὶ νὰ τὸν ἔχῃ εἰς φυλακήν, εἰς τιμωρίαν <u>σιδήρων</u>, νὰ
τὸν ζητήσῃ ὁ ἀφέντης του καὶ νὰ τὸν ἀνακράξῃ   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7572–4

ἀμμὲ ὁ σὶρ Τουμᾶς δὲν τὸν ἐλείψεν ἡ πικρία <u>τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ του</u>
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 28.15

"the bitterness of (arising from) his brother's death"

τότες δὲν εἶναι καιρὸς <u>τῆς βοηθείας</u> οὐδὲ ποσῶς, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα παρακάλεσι ἄπρακτη
καὶ ἀνωφέλετη   16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 159–60

"a time of (to seek) relief/assistance"

εἰς τὸ ἐκλαμπρότατον Κολέγιον <u>Χανδάκου Κρήτης</u>
1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.12–13

"the College of Chandax of (in) Crete"

ἐδά 'ν' καιρὸς <u>τσῆ προσευκῆς</u>, δάκρυα δριμιὰ τυχαίνου, νὰ συμπαθήσῃ ὁ Κύριος
πᾶσα κριματισμένου   17th c./16th–17th c., *Thysia Avr.* 579–80

ἐρχινίσασιν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον νὰ κτίζουσι μοναστήρια καὶ νὰ πρεμαζώνουνται τὰ
πλήθη <u>τῶν μοναχῶν</u>   17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 31.20–1

ὀργισθήκασι περίσσα καὶ ἀφρίζασι ἀπὸ λύσσα <u>ἐκδίκησης</u> 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 16.23–4

"fury of (for/arising from) revenge"

Genitive of Description (including measures)

ἕτερον χωράφιν εἰς τὴν Παληρέαν <u>μοδίων η´</u>   ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.27

ἐννόμους δὲ γάμους πληροῦσιν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι, ὅταν εἶναι ὁ ἄνθρωπος <u>χρόνων ιδ´</u> καὶ ἄνωθεν, ...
καὶ ἡ γυναῖκα νὰ ἔναι <u>χρόνων ιβ´</u> καὶ ἄνωθεν   ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 238.400–2

εἰς τὸ κουμοῦ τῆς Βενετίας ἐξέβησαν ἀνθρῶποι <u>γνώσεως μεγάλης καὶ στρατειᾶς</u>
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 950–1

ἐβγῆκε <u>κακῆς προαιρέσεως</u> ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἐβουλεύθη κακὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὁποὺ τὸν
ἀνάθρεψεν   16th c., DIONYS., *Istor.* 252.11–13

εὑρίσκουνται ἄνδρες <u>τοῦ σπαθίου</u> τριανταπέντε χιλιάδες
1609, Cyprus, CHASIOTIS 1972: 35, 59.10

5.1.5   Dative

(70) In vernacular LMedG/EMG the dative case is no longer employed creatively and survives chiefly in lexicalized clichés and other fossilized expressions such as dating formulae.

In early texts, however, the dative is not uncommon in short verbal phrases comprising imperatives and personal pronouns; subsequently, dative pronouns (often with other verb forms) are a mark of influence from more learned registers and/or of traditional practice in certain "higher" domains.

Its occasional appearance as a variant of other cases or forms of expression involving more complex NPs is typically inspired by traditional usage in a specific domain or by the actual words of an ancient (often religious) source.

Dative Pronouns

[<u>φέρε με</u> καὶ βλάχικον τυρὶν σταμεναρέαν], καὶ <u>δός μοι</u> νὰ προγεύσωμαι καὶ πάλιν νὰ
πετσώνω   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 119–20

<u>δότε μοι</u> πετσὶν διὰ τὰ ὑποδήματά μου   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. IV* 144

"τί ἔνι τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὅπερ λέγεις;" <u>εἶπε μοι</u> ὅτι "ὁ μητροπολίτης
Φιλίππων"   1337/8, Constantinople, HUNGER et al. 1995: 109, 92.57–8

ἐμένα ... <u>φαίνεταί μοι</u> ὡς ἀναγκαιότατον ... πρῶτον ὁ ἰατρός
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 286.4–5

ἔλεγα «<u>βοηθεῖτε μοι</u>!» κ᾽ ἐκεῖνοι ἀφήκασί με   16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 63

Fossilized Phrases/Dating Formulae

ἐν τούτῳ παύομαι ἐδῶ νὰ λέγω κι ἀφηγοῦμαι περὶ τοῦ ῥῆγα Κάρουλου

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7955–6

ἐχαρίσαμε τοῦ Γεωργίου … τὸ κοπέλι …, ὀνόματι Φίλιππο Θοδόση Βεντούρη

1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 72, 36.1–4

τῆ ιε´ αὐγούστου ‚ασπς´ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐστέφθην ὁ ρὲ Χαρὴν εἰς τὴν
    χώραν τῆς Τύρου ῥήγας   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 42.3–5

(τὰ δαιμόνια) εἶχαν πέσει ἀπὸ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν, τότες ὁπού ἠθέλησαν νὰ
    γένουν ὅμοιοι τῷ Θεῷ τῷ ὑψίστῳ   16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.27–30

ἐν τῷ ἅμα τοῦ ἔστειλε λόγον   17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.3

διὰ τοῦτο γράφω ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ καὶ ποιῶ παραίτησιν τοῦ θρόνου τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς
    Καρπάθου   1622, ?Karpathos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: B, 300.14–15

ἀποφασίσαμεν ἅπαντες κοινῇ γνώμῃ καὶ βουλῇ ὅτι νὰ πωλήσωμεν τὰ κελλία τῆς
    μεγάλης Μέσης   1661, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 71, 200.5

περὶ ταῖς καλαῖς σας ὑγείαις πολλὰ τὸ ἐχάρηκα καὶ παρακαλῶ τὸν Θεὸν νὰ τὴν εὕρη
    ἡ παροῦσα ἐν ὑγείαις καὶ πάσῃ χαρᾷ   1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 16, 216.5–6

Ἱστορία Γαλαξειδίου … Διὰ χερὸς Εὐθυμίου Ἱερομονάχου ἔτος … αψγ´ μηνὶ Μαρτίου
                18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 13.1–10

Some Other Uses

ἄλλο μήνυμαν ἐκ τοὺς ἀποσωστάς σου τῷ βασιλεῖ κατέλαβεν γέμον χαρὰν μεγάλην
                ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.1r.3–8

    "ambassadors to the emperor"

ὁ … πάπας … ἔταξε νὰ δίδη κάθε μῆνα τὰ αὐθεντόπουλα δουκάτα τριακόσια,
    ὥσπερ ἔδιδε καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ τῷ δεσπότη καὶ πατρὶ αὐτῶν
                1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 284.9–11

    (traditional high style in reference to the emperor, as above)

ἀπέθανε καὶ ἡ δέσποινα κυρὰ Ἄννα … λοιμώδει νόσῳ
                15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 12.22–3

    (instrumental dative as in AG)

ἐσγάψαν τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐμπῆκαν μέσα, καὶ ἐπροσεύχουνταν τῷ θεῷ
                16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 30.5–6

    (+ dative in AG, though normally used absolutely in New Testament)

λέγουσιν … πῶς ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἀναπνοῇ σὰν ἕναν ζύγιν αἱ πράξες τῶν ἀν(θρώπ)ων
    ζυγιάζονται καὶ δοκιμάζονται   16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 567–8

5.2   Complements of Nouns

Complementation of nouns is frequent, although not mandatory as it is with verbs or prepositions: participants fulfilling key semantic roles are not always represented by concrete linguistic expressions (e.g. *her marriage (to John), her claim (that X)*).

5.2.1   Subjective and Objective Genitives

The genitive subjects of NPs headed by nouns denoting actions (usually deverbal nouns) are not, strictly speaking, complements of the relevant head nouns any more than the subjects of sentences containing the related verbs are complements of those verbs. On the other hand, nouns denoting actions, or the agents of actions, may take true genitive NP complements, with a role corresponding to that of the direct object of the related transitive verb. Despite this grammatical difference it is convenient to treat subjective and objective genitives together in that they have the same syntactic distribution, appearing after the head noun unless preposed for emphasis or contrast (though preposing is often employed *metri gratia* in verse texts without obvious emphasis). In practice, therefore, co-occurrence of subjective and objective genitives is rare, and occurs only in early/more literary texts:

τοῦ Καλλιμάχου ζήτησις πάλιν πρὸς Χρυσορρόην τῆς πατρικῆς γεννήσεως, τῆς
    χώρας καὶ τοῦ πάθους   16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 600–1

The need for a double genitive construction is avoided by replacing one with a prepositional phrase (normally headed by ἀπό for subjective genitives, εἰς/πρός/μέ etc. for objective genitives; see Rule (72) NOTE (i) for examples of the latter).

(71) A NP in construction with a noun denoting an action may fulfil a role analogous to that of a subject in a sentence; such NPs are inflected in the genitive.

It is difficult to draw a line between subjective and possessive genitives (for which see 5.1.4.2); genitives are treated here as subjective when the head noun denotes something clearly more active than a simple property or quality of the NP in question.

κατὰ τὸ πεῖν τοὺς πραγματευτάδες καὶ τοῦ ναυκλέρου καὶ τοὺς ναύτας
                15th c./?13th c., Cyprus, *Assizes* B 296.16–17

ἡ δὲ ἡ ρήγαινα ἐκάτζεν εἰς τὸν ἡλιακὸν εἰς τὸ διάβαν τοὺς καβαλλάριδες καὶ ὅλου
    τοῦ λαοῦ   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 50.12–13

εἴδαμεν τὲς ἀναζήτησεις τοῦ ἑνὸς μέρου καὶ τὲς ἀπόκρισεις τοῦ ἑτέρου μέρος πολλὰς
    καὶ πλείστας φοράς   1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 10, 63.4

ἀπὸ τζὶ ἀγκάλες καὶ κυβέρνησες ἑνοῦ πριντζίπου τόσο γλυκότατου
                1671, Cythera, PSARAS 1989: 150.16

(72) A NP in construction with a noun denoting an action, or the agent of an action, may fulfil a role analogous to that of the object of a transitive verb; such NPs are inflected in the genitive.

With Action Nouns

ὁ τρέχων εἰς τὸν κόσμον, οὐκ ἔχει φόβον πενθερᾶς   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 126–7

τῶν ὀδυνῶν μου κουφισμόν, ἐπαύξησιν ζωῆς μου καὶ τῆς πνοῆς μου σύστασιν πῶς
νὰ τὴν ἐξεπλέξω;   ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.8r.7–10

καὶ εἰς πόθον τῆς ἀγάπης σου ἔφερεν τὴν ψυχήν μου
                                                   15th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 723

ἐτρέχασιν ὅλοι ἀπὸ τὸν φόβον τοῦ βασιλέως, … ὁδιὰ νὰ κάμῃ θυσίαν τῶν
ψευδωνύμων θεῶν   17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.5–7

With Agent Nouns

ἤκουσαν τὰ δικαιώματα … τοῦ κὺρ Μιχέλη Γκελάρδου καὶ κυράτζα Θουμαγῆς ὡς
κυβερνήτρα τῶν παιδιῶν της   1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 46, 43.2–4

ἔπεμψε τὸ παράκλητον Πνεῦμα εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους του μαθητὰς καὶ θεωροὺς τῶν
μυστηρίων του   17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 31.1–2

NOTE

(i) With certain head nouns, particularly when these are not formally action nouns (i.e.
ending in -σις, -ισμός etc.), and also with some adjectives, a prepositional phrase may
be used instead of a genitive, sometimes with a slight difference of meaning (cf. *love
of X* and *love for X*). Each such lexical item selects a characteristic preposition or set
of prepositions:

ἀγάπην εἶχεν ἄπειρον εἰς αὐτὴν ὁ πατὴρ της· καὶ ἀπὲ τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν πολλὴν ἦν
πρὸς ἐκείνην εἶχεν   15th–16th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 759–60

ἀπ' ἐκεῖ πάλε ἄρχεψεν ἡ ἔχθρα μὲ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τοῦ ἀντρός της
                            16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 312.2–3

ἤτονε μαθηματικὴ εἰς τὰ γράμματα πολλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἔμπειρη
                            1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.7

5.2.2   Partitive Genitives

**(73) Nouns and pronouns denoting a part/subset of a larger whole may take a
genitive NP complement denoting the relevant whole.**

Other than in very early and archaizing texts, NPs whose heads take a definite partitive
complement are themselves normally definite, perhaps reflecting a growing avoidance of
combinations of NPs that disagree in definiteness.

αὐτὸς ὁ Εὐλάλιος καὶ ἂν ἔλθῃ καὶ ὁ Χήναρος ἐκεῖνος … οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ζωγράφων,
τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἐξορθώνουσι   15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 43–5

αἰσχύνομαι τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ πλῆθος
                            16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 120

τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐλαττωμένον εἶχε   16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 288

ἐπέθανεν τὸ ἥμισον τοῦ νησσίου   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 60.26–7

NOTES

(i) Exceptions to the definiteness requirement are rare and early:

τινὲς δὲ τῶν χιρεκάκων ἠνέφεραν τὸν αὐθέντην μου
                            ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.31

(ii) A prepositional phrase headed by ἀπό/ἐκ is normally used instead of a genitive when the
head is a bare numeral or an indefinite pronoun/quantifier. This allows an indefinite NP to
stand in construction with a definite NP without violation of the definiteness constraint:

μίαν ἀπὸ τὰς πρόκριτας εἰς ἥν ἐθάρρει πλέον, παρήγγειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς ὅλους
νὰ προλάβῃ   ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.3r.9–12

τὸ πῶς ἠγάπα κ' ἤθελεν κάλλιον νὰ εἶχεν χάσει μίαν ἀπὸ τὲς χῶρες του ἐκ τὲς
καλλιώτερές του   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7085–6

ἔκραξε δύο ἀπὸ τοὺς Ρωμαίους καὶ γράφει τους πιττάκια
                            14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8319

καὶ εἷς ἐκ τοὺς φιλόσοφους τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐλάλειε   16th c./14th c., *Byz. Il.* 846

πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς καβαλλάριδες ἀχόρταγοι καὶ πτωχοὶ ἐβάλαν τὰ χέρια τους
                            16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 82.27–8

δὲ τοῦ ἀβοήθησε τινὰς ἀπὸ τὰ παιδιά μου
                            1642, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 246, 197.31

κάτι γοῦν ἀπὸ ἐκείνους τοὺς πειράτες, … ἐπήγασι τρέχοντας γοργὸν
                            18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 16.16–19

(iii) The prepositional phrase construction is also used when expressions of this kind have
uniquely identified referents (= "*the* one of the pair/set of X with some distinguishing
property"):

ἔκραξε δύο ἀπὸ τοὺς Ρωμαίους καὶ γράφει τους πιττάκια· ὁ ἕνας ἀπὸ αὐτοὺς τὸ
ἔγραψεν ὅπου ἔξευρεν νὰ γράφῃ   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8319–20

βρεῖ θέλει τρόπον ὅμορφο νὰ δῇ νὰ τσῇ μιλήσῃ, τὸν ἕνα ἀποὺ τσὶ δυὸ τωνε νὰ
πάρῃ, ὅποιον ὁρίσῃ   17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* II.19–20

5.2.3   Clausal Complements

**(74) Many nouns take clausal complements, especially those formally and/or
semantically related to verbs with clausal complements (see Chapter 2). The
type of complement in any given case is largely determined by the meaning
class of the noun in question.**

With (τοῦ/διὰ) νά

Clausal complements of nouns with meanings related to those of control verbs ("power", "deci-
sion", "command", "hope", "promise", "intention" etc.) normally take complements containing
subjunctive verb forms marked with νά. With some nouns, especially in the "hope"/"promise"
domain, there is overlap between νά-clauses and clauses introduced by ὅτι/πώς (see below).

ἀπόκρισιν τοῦ ἔδωκεν πρόθυμα <u>νὰ τὸ ποιήσῃ</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5677

ἐγὼ σὲ παραδίδω <u>τὴν ἀφεντίαν</u> ὅπου κρατῶ <u>νὰ στήκῃς</u> διὰ τὴν κούρτην, <u>νὰ κρένῃς</u>
   γὰρ καὶ <u>νὰ κρατῇς</u> τὸ δίκαιον μὲ τὸν νόμον   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7539–41

ἔχει <u>ἐλπίδα</u> εἰς τὸν Θεὸν πολλὰ <u>νὰ τὸ ἀγαπήσῃ</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8699

μετὰ τοῦτο νά 'χῃ <u>ὀμπλέγο νὰ τόνε πάρῃ</u>, σὰν ἀποθάνῃ, <u>νὰ τόνε κηβέψῃ</u> στὸ
  ἄνωθεν μοναστήρι καὶ <u>νὰ τόνε μνημονεύῃ</u>
         1610, Crete (Rethymno region), BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 662, 576.11–12

NOTES

(i) The negative in νά-clauses is μή(ν), though νά may then be omitted (in verse texts
often *metri gratia*):

<u>βουλὴν</u> ἠπῆρεν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον <u>μὴ χάσῃ</u>   15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1024

δίδοντας <u>ὄρδενε νὰ μὴν πγιαίνῃ</u> τινὰς ἐκεῖ   17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.34

(ii) Νά-clauses complementing verbs may contain the genitive article τοῦ (see 2.2, Rule
(26) NOTE (ii)), but this occurs with nouns in only a few examples from the *Chronicle
of Morea* where there is a pause or significant gap between the noun and its dependent
clause:

ἰσιάστησαν μὲ τὸ Κουμοῦ εἰς τέτοιες <u>συμφωνίες τοῦ νὰ τοῦ δώσῃ</u> τὸ Κουμοῦ ...
  τέσσαρα κάτεργα καλά   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2779–82

ἐποίησε γὰρ ὁ πρίγκιπας <u>τὸ ὀμάτζιον</u> πρὸς τὸν ῥῆγα <u>τοῦ νὰ κρατῇ</u> τὸν τόπον
  του ἀπὸ τὸν ῥῆγα Κάρλον   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 6477–8

(iii) Rarely, and chiefly in later texts from Crete and Cyprus, νά-complements may also
be preceded by διά, which again tends to be used when there is a gap between a noun
and its dependent clause, but this is by no means a requirement:

ἐνδέχετον <u>μαντάτον</u> ἀπὸ τὴν Κύπρον, <u>διὰ νὰ 'ρτη, νὰ τοῦ δώσουν</u> τὴν
  ἀρχιεπισκοπήν   16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 14.7–8

τὰ στεκάμενα ὅπου ἀγόρασε τοῦ μοναστηρίου ἤτονε <u>ἀφορμὴ διὰ νὰ μὴν ἔλθῃ</u>
  κακὸς γείτονας εἰς τὸ μοναστήρι   1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.43–4

Indirect Questions

Nouns with an appropriate meaning may take an indirect question as a complement (see
also 2.4). Interrogative phrases in clause-initial position regularly attract the verb (cf. 1.4,
Rules (16), (17), (18)), with overt subjects then following.

Indirect questions complementing nouns are less liable to nominalization with τό than
those with verbs (2.4, Rule (31) NOTE (i)), though the option is common with stereotyped
periphrases meaning "consider"/"decide" in which a semantically "light" verb (= "give",
"take", "make") is combined with βουλήν as its object.

καὶ τότε δίδουν <u>τὴν βουλὴν τὸ ποῦ νὰ πᾶν νὰ κλέψουν</u>   15th c., *Diig. Ven.* 81

χωρὶς νὰ ἔχῃς <u>ἔννοιαν ἴντα νὰ τοὺς πλερώσῃς</u>
    16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.32–3

ἐποίησαν <u>βουλὴν τί νὰ ποιήσουν</u> εἰς ἐτουτουνοὺς τοὺς κακοποιοὺς ἀνθρώπους
    16th c., *Diig. Alex.* E 171.3–4 (Lolos)

ἐποίησεν <u>βουλὴν τὸ τί νὰ ποιήσουνε</u> εἰς ἐτουτουνοὺς τοὺς κακοποιοὺς ἀνθρώπους
    16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 170.3–4 (Lolos)

ἔπεσεν εἰς <u>λογισμὸν μέγα, τὸ πῶς νὰ ποιήσῃ νὰ μηδὲν ἐντροπιαστῇ</u>
    16th c., *Diig. Alex.* K 361.27–8

μὲ <u>μεγάλη ἔννοια</u> βρίσκομαι <u>πῶ⟨ς⟩ περνᾷ ἡ πανιερότη σου</u>
    1612, Crete (Chania region), CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.9–10

λέγοντας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέαν <u>τὴν ἀφορμήν, διατί δὲν τὸν ἐχάλασεν</u>
    17th c., *Vios Aisop.* I 275.37–8

With μή(ν)/μήπως καί

In parallel with semantically related verbs (see 2.3), nouns meaning "fear"/"anxiety" etc.
may take a complement clause introduced by μή(ν)/μήπως καί (with negative οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)
δέν). As fear is typically for what may happen in the future, the verb forms attested are
overwhelmingly subjunctive, though the particle νά is not normally employed in this in-
herently modal domain.

The usual integrity of the μή(ν) + verb combination is retained even though the negative
here has acquired pseudo-complementizer status; μή(ν) and the verb are therefore adjacent
(apart from clitic pronouns), and overt subjects follow.

εἶχεν <u>μέγαν φόβον μὴ πιάσῃ καὶ τυφλώσῃ τον, εἰς φυλακὴν τὸν βάλῃ καὶ λάβῃ
  ἄδικον θάνατον καὶ χάσῃ τὸ κορμί του</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4891–3

ὁ νοῦς μου σ᾽ <u>ἔγνοια</u> μπαίνει, <u>μὴν εἶν᾽ κιανεὶς</u> στὸ σπίτι της καὶ <u>βρίσκεται κρυμμένος</u>
    16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* II.94–5

ἔχοντας <u>ρεσπέτο ..., μήπως καὶ δώσου του</u> κιανένα καιρὸ καμίας λογῆς πείραξη
    1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 193, 202–203.4–5

With (ὁ)πού

A noun that is *factive* (see 2.1, Rule (24)) may take a complement introduced by (ὁ)πού
+ indicative. The construction seems to be of relatively recent origin (16th c. onwards):
in earlier texts, as well as sometimes also after the 16th c., we find simply ὅτι/πώς (see
immediately below for more examples).

Factive with ὅτι/πώς

εὑρέθη <u>τὸ ἀληθές, ὅτι ἡ ἐλαία ἔνι</u> τῆς μονῆς τοῦ παπᾶ κὺρ Διονυσίου
    1395, Athos, OIKONOMIDÈS 1968: 8, 76.20

μὰ ἔχει <u>μεγάλη παραπόνεση πῶς δὲ τσῆ στέλνει</u> ἡ πανιερότη σου δυὸ λόγια
    1610, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 3, 169.3–4

Factive with (ὁ)πού

τοῦτο ἤτονε <u>μέγα θαῦμα ... ὅπου ἡ κιβωτὸς ... ἐξεβλάστωσεν καὶ ἔκαμε κλωνάρια
  καὶ φύλλα καὶ ἄνθη καὶ καρπὸν</u> εὐμορφότατον
    16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.27–36

ὅπου ὑπῆγεν ὁ Καισαρείας εἰς τὸν Πάπαν, εἴδησιν δὲν ἤξευρε

16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 179–80

οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ ... εἴχανε μεγάλην χαρά, ὅπου ἦρθε προφήτης εἰς τὸν τόπον τους

17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 128.13–14

τό 'χω μεγάλο παράπονο ὅπου οἱ ἄλλοι πραγματευτάδες ἔλαβαν γραφὴν ἀπὸ τοὺς Κοθωναίους στὶς 15 Νοεμβρίου

1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 19, 218.2–5

With ὅτι/(τὸ) πώς

Nouns semantically related to verbs of declaration, belief etc. routinely take complements introduced by ὅτι/(τὸ) πώς with an indicative (negative οὐ(κ)/οὐδέ(ν)) or νά + subjunctive (negative μή(ν)); the two items are more or less functionally equivalent, though ὅτι is more formal/traditional in character and πώς allows for nominalization.

In the "hope/promise" domain ὅτι/πώς-clauses containing verb forms marked with νά alternate with bare νά-clauses (on which see above).

In earlier/more learned texts subjects may come immediately after ὅτι and stand directly before the verb; the normal order in a πώς-clause is complementizer–verb–subject, and ὅτι-clauses increasingly follow this pattern in more vernacular texts.

ὅτι

εὑρέθη τὸ ἀληθές, ὅτι ἡ ἐλαία ἔνι τῆς μονῆς τοῦ παπᾶ κὺρ Διονυσίου

1395, Athos, OIKONOMIDÈS 1968: 8, 76.20

μανδάτον γὰρ τὸν ἤφερα ... ὅτι τὴν γῆν ἐφθάσαμεν   15th–16th c./14th c., *Poulol.* 577–8

ἐθιόρκισέν τον ὅτι νὰ μὲν θελήσῃ ποττὲ νὰ ποίσῃ τίτοιον κακόν, ὅτι δυὸ πρωτανιψία νὰ σμικτοῦν   16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 34.6–8

εἶχεν ἐλπίδα ὅτι θέλει τοῦ κάμει νὰ ἰδῇ καὶ αὐτὸς κανένα θαῦμα

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 374.32–3

ἀπὸ κεῖ ἐβγῆκε ὁ λόγος ὅτι ἀπόθανε ὁ σουλτὰν Μουράτης καὶ ἐκάθησε βασιλεὺς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Μπαγιαζίτης   17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.7–9

ἀπὸ τότε ἐκάμασι νόμον οἱ Τοῦρκοι ὅτι ... νὰ πιάνουσι οἱ καπικῆδες τὰ δύο του χέρια   17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.34–5

(τὸ) πώς

ἐφέραν του μαντάτον πῶς εἶνε εἰς τὴν Καλοψίδαν

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 632.33–4

ἐπῆγεν τὸ μαντάτον εἰς τὸν ρήγαν πῶς ἦρτεν ὁ ἀποστολὲς εἰς τὴν Κύπρον

16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 18.17–18

δὲ μπορῶ, ... παρὰ ... τὰ πάθη ν' ἀπομένω μ' ἐλπίδα πῶς κιαμιὰ φορὰ ν' ἀλλάξῃ ὁ λογισμός σου, νὰ μοῦ χαρίσῃ ἀνάπαψη ὁ πόθος ὁ δικός σου   17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* II.363–6

καλῶς τὸ πιάσε ἡ χέρα μου τὸ μαρμαρένιο χέρι, κεῖνο ποὺ ὀλπίδα μοῦ 'δωκε τὸ πῶς σὲ κάνω ταίρι   18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.1491–2

ἦλθεν μαντᾶτο τὸ πῶς ἐχειροτονήθη ἄλλος ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ἔρχεται· καὶ τότες ἐβγάλλει ἕνα γράμμα ..., τὸ πῶς μὲ κάθηρες, καὶ νὰ μὴ συνάξω καμμίας λογῆς εἰσόδημα ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν   1622, ?Karpathos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: B, 300.6–10

εἴδησιν δίδω τῆς βασιλείας σου, πῶς εἰς τὰς δέκα τοῦ Ὀκτωμβρίου μηνὸς ἤλθαμεν Στοκόλμ   1654, Stockholm (author from Athens), TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 56.11

πῶς εἶσθεν ὅλοι σας κουφοὶ μαντᾶτο πὰ νὰ δώσω   17th c., KONDAR., *Paides* 16

NOTE

(i) Ὅτι is also used to introduce direct speech, particularly in stylistically less ambitious texts/documents:

ἐφέραν τὸν πατέρα του μηνύματα βαρέα ὅτι· "Τινὲς ἀλλογενεῖς τὲς χῶρες σου κουρσεύουν ... "   15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 101–2

ἐποίησαν βουλὴν ὅτι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον νὰ μὴ τὸν ἔχωμεν εἰς τὸ κάστρον μας

16th c., *Diig. Alex.* E 163.5–6 (Lolos)

ἐν τῷ ἅμα τοῦ ἔστειλε λόγον ὅτι· "Ὁ πατέρας σου σὲ θέλει νὰ σοῦ ὁμιλήσῃ"

17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.3–4

With καί

A formally coordinated καί-clause may be substituted for a wide range of sentential complements to verbs (see Chapter 2) but is comparatively rare with nouns.

τοῦτον ἦτον ἡ ἀφορμή, καὶ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔππεσεν ἀπάνω τους

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 16.12–16

εὑρέθην ἐκεῖ ὁ ἀμιρᾶς ὀνόματι Μεχλὶν Πέχνα, ὅπου ἦτον ἀφορμὴ καὶ ἀρχεύτην ἡ μάχη   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 206.27–8

ἂν ἐπεθάναν ὅλοι οἱ Γενουβίσοι, καὶ θέλει ἔρτειν καιρὸς καὶ ὁ δαρμένος θέλει δέρειν!

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 208.1–4

τὰ μαῦρα ἐσύ 'σουν ἀφορμὴ κι' ἔριξα, σὰ θυμᾶσαι

17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* II.359

ἐκείνη τοῦ 'διδε ἀφορμὴ κ' ἤμπαινε σ' ἔτοια κρίση

18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* I.1150

5.3   Adjuncts of Nouns

5.3.1   Genitive Adjuncts

See Rule (69) above.

5.3.2   Articles and Other Determiners

5.3.2.1   Definite NPs and the Definite Article

(75) **The use of a definite NP in LMedG/EMG presupposes that its referent can be uniquely identified within the relevant universe of discourse.**

Definiteness may be *semantic* (NPs with inherently unique referents independently of context) or *pragmatic* (NPs whose unique identification depends crucially on the specific context). The definite article is used in LMedG/EMG to mark both semantic and pragmatic definiteness, though its appearance is by no means universal in that definiteness is a given in the former case and may be so strongly invited in the latter as to seem redundant (see below for details).

The article is the initial element of a definite NP (apart from any items preposed for emphasis/contrast), though in a series of conjoined definite NPs, or definite NPs in apposition, it is not uncommon for the first alone to be overtly determined:

ὁ σελᾶς καὶ σαμαρᾶς χρῶνται καὶ οὗτοι ταῦτα καὶ ὅπου δ' ἂν καὶ χρειαστοῦν,
εὑρίσκουν με εἰς δέμαν   15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 626–7

ὁ Νικόλας καὶ μαστρ'-Αντρέας καὶ Γεώργης, ἀδελφοὶ Μαρκόπουλοι, ἦρθαν στὴ
παροῦσαν σύβαση καὶ οἱ τρεῖς θεληματικοί
                    1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 841, 733.2–3

Semantic Definiteness

The article appears frequently in NPs containing a modifier that confers uniqueness (e.g. "the biggest X", "the one/the other X", "the first etc. X" of a known set), in generic/abstract NPs (e.g. "the truth" as a concept/ideal, "the dog" as a species, "the rich" as a class), in NPs headed by unique reference nouns (e.g. "the sun", "the capital of Italy") and with proper names used referentially; but optionality persists, especially in earlier texts, poetry and those prose genres (mainly legal and religious) shaped by more traditional conventions.

Already by the 9th c., however, articles are used with some regularity to mark semantic definiteness in ordinary vernacular discourse, and by the end of our period the article is well on its way to becoming a conventionalized marker of such inherent definiteness (much as in MG).

ἐκ νεότητός μου ἐπόθησα τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην   11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 676–7

λαβὼν μόνον τοῦτον σὺ ἀπότρεχε, μὴ ἐξαργῇ τὸ ἕτερόν σου βοΐδιν
                    11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 124–5

ὁ διάβολος ... ἐζήλωσεν αὐτὸν ὡς ποτε τὸν Ἰὼβ ... Οὐδὲν γὰρ θαυμαστὸν ἔφησεν ...
ποιήσειν τὸν ἄνδρα ... παρέχων τοῖς πένησιν
                    11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 34–9

τῆς δὲ χήρας αἱ θυγατέρες, ἡ μὲν πρώτη ἡ Μαρία, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα Μυρανθία, ἡ δὲ
τρίτη Εὐανθία   11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 477–8

ὡς χριστιανοὶ φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, νὰ εἰπῆτε καὶ νὰ κρίνετε ἔσω
στὸ δίκαιο ἀπάνω
                    14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2359–60

ὁ δ' Ἀχίλλιος ἀκούσας, ... φέρνει στράτευμα Βουλγάρων
                    15th c./14th c., ERMON., *Ilias* 3.236–8

ἀπέθανε καὶ ἡ δέσποινα κυρὰ Ἄννα ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς Ρωσσίας λοιμώδει νόσῳ
                    15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 12.22–3

τοῦ ἥλιου εἶπεν νὰ σταθῇ κ' ἐστάθηκεν στὴν ὥραν   17th c., KONDAR., *Paides* 37

The article does, however, remain optional, as noted:

οὐκ εἶν ... περὶ πίστεως δόγματος   12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.7–8

πόθος γὰρ πόθου στερηθεὶς ὑπομονὴν οὐκ ἔχει
                    16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 16

ἀφόντι ἐσώσθη τὸ σπίτι, ἔκαμαν λογαριασμόν, εἰς ὅσες ἡμέρες ἔκαμεν δουλειὰν καὶ εἰς
ὅσες δὲν ἔκαμεν· καὶ δὲν χρεωστεῖ ἕνας τὸν ἄλλον
                    post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 73, 56.3–5

βασιλεύει ἥλιος, τὰ δένδρη γὰρ λαλοῦσι, καὶ ἡ φωνή τους ἰνδική, δὲν ξεύρω τί μιλοῦσι
                    16th c., *Alex.* Rim. 2113–14

ἐτότες εἶδα φανερὰ νὰ ρίξῃ μὲ μεγάλη σπουδὴ στὸ στῆθος μου Ἔρωτας χίλιες σαΐτες
πάλι   17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* I.329–30

ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτισε μὲ νερόν· ἀμὴ ἐσεῖς θέλετε βαπτισθεῖ μὲ Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον εἰς ὀλίγες
ἡμέρες   17th c., KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.,* Praxeis 1.5

Pragmatic Definiteness

The article is regularly used to mark pragmatic definiteness, e.g. when a NP is used anaphorically (e.g. *She met a man on the train. The man ...*), when a NP is definite through a familiar association (e.g. *She has a new car. The clutch ...*) or when a NP has a restrictive modifier, typically an adjective, appositive NP, genitive or relative clause, suggesting unique identifiability in context (e.g. *The book on the shelf ...*).

ἦν τις ἄνθρωπος ... τοὔνομα Φιλάρετος, καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἦν εὐγενής
                    11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 5–6

σπόγγισον τὴν τράπεζαν τὴν ἀρχαίαν τὴν ἐλεφάντινον
                    11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 408–9

διέρχεται τοὺς ἐσφραγισμένους τρεῖς μεγάλους δρῦας ..., ὡσαύτως καὶ τὴν μεγάλην
κουτουλὴν καρέαν, καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν τριστέλεγχον καρέαν καὶ τὸν ἱστάμενον
πλησίον αὐτῆς δρῦν   1090–4, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 45, 164.50–1

ἔβαλαν οὖν διαλαλητὴν λαγὸν τὸν μεγαλάπτην, ... ἵνα συνάξῃ πάντας καὶ νὰ ἴδωσιν
τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς ἀποκρισιάρους   15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 44–6

ἐν μηνὶ αὐγούστῳ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἡ δέσποινα κυρὰ Ἄννα ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς Ρωσσίας λοιμώδει
νόσῳ, καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῇ τοῦ Λιβὸς μονῇ   15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 12.22–3

τότε ἐξέβαλεν Φλαβιανὸν ... ὁ ἐπικατάρατος βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἐχειροτόνησε
Σεβῆρον ... Τὸν δὲ Φλαβιανὸν ἐξόρισεν εἰς Πέτρας   15th c., *Hist. Imp.* IIb 641–3

ηὗρεν πτωχὸν γέρον εἰς τὰ ὄρη ... καὶ ἀποκαλύφθην τοῦ μοναχοῦ ἡ Θεοτόκος
                    16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 36. 22–8

ὁ ἄνωθεν κυρ-Γαλιάτσος δίδει τὴν ἀγελέαν του τὴν ἄνωθεν τὴ μαύρη τοῦ ἄνωθεν
κυρ-Γεωργηλά, νὰ σπείρῃ ὀφέτος
                    1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 57, 77.6–7

τοὺς ἐζήτησε τὸ κάστρο τὴν Φιλαδελφείαν   17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.12

λῦσον ταύτην τὴν γραφήν, διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ Θεοῦ
                    1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.59–60

τὸ πρῶτον ψάρι ὁπού ἔβγη, πιάσ' το   17th c., KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 17.27

μοῦ ἔφεραν μαλλὶ φαγγότα 65 ... · στεῖλε μου τὸν λογαριασμό
<div align="right">1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 8, 214.3–5</div>

But the anaphoric article may be omitted, especially in more informal genres, as in the following extract from a contract in which "(the) sellers and (the) buyer" have already been introduced by name:

τὸν ἐπέψασι πουλητάδες καὶ ἀγοραστής
<div align="right">1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 9, 31.10–11</div>

The article marking definiteness by association is also optional, particularly when a series of nouns is linked in this way to an earlier NP:

τοὺς οὐρανοὺς τοὺς θαυμαστοὺς ὥρισεν κ' ἐγενῆκαν, ἄστρη, φεγγάριν κ' ἥλιος τότες
εὐθὺς ἐβγῆκαν   15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 19–20

κάλλιο νὰ ἦμαι ὑπόδουλος τοῦ βασιλέως, παρὰ ν' ἀρνηθῶ τὴν πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ μου·
καὶ πιστεύω πατέρα, υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα
<div align="right">16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.16–18</div>

And since, in the absence of indications to the contrary, restrictive modifiers strongly promote definite readings of the NPs containing them, the relevant article is frequently omitted as redundant. The optionality persists through our period and is particularly noteworthy for NPs inside prepositional phrases.

ἦν τις ἄνθρωπος ἐν χώρα τῶν Παφλαγόνων   11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 5

ἀλλὰ περὶ πράξεως ἔνι καὶ ἐγκράτειαν τὴν ἐπαινομένην παρὰ πᾶσαν θείαν γραφήν
<div align="right">12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.8–9</div>

ἔτεκαν παῖδα θαυμαστόν, τὸν Διγενὴν Ἀκρίτην, φωστήραν τὸν αὐγερινόν, ἥλιον τὸν
φωσφόρον   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E

ἐτάφη εἰς τὸ πάνσεπτον ναὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τοῦ Γερακιώτου ἐδῶ εἰς
πόρταν τὴν βασιλικήν   1387, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 96, 99.3–5

ἴντσι παρακαλῶ τῆ πανιερότη σου νὰ μοῦ θυμᾶσαι, γι' ἀγάπη τ' ἀφέντη τοῦ
Χριστοῦ   1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.5–6

θέλω τὰ φορτώσει μὲ πρῶτο καράβι ποὺ νὰ ἔρθη στὸ Δυρράχιο
<div align="right">1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 8, 214.4–5</div>

NOTES

(i)   The most neutral position for an attributive adjective within a definite NP is between the article and the noun (ὁ σοφὸς X), though the option of placing the adjective after the noun with a repeated article is very common (ὁ X ὁ σοφός). The second type, involving "double definiteness" or "determiner spreading", may be used specifically to indicate that the adjective denotes an already familiar property of the relevant entity, thus serving as the main identifier of the referent of the NP:

τοῦτο ψευδὲς ἐνόμιζον, ὅλως οὐκ ἐδεχόμην, τὸ λέγουσιν οἱ χωρικοὶ καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ
δημώδης   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 19–20

τὸ μεγαλογράμματον ἱμάτιν τὸ κνηκᾶτον ἢ χάρισον ἢ πώλησον ἢ δὸς ὁπού
κελεύεις   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 60–1

ὁ βασιλιὰς ἐποῖκεν νὰ τὸν μάθουσιν τὴν ἁγίαν πίστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν καθολικήν
<div align="right">16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 150.15–16</div>

(ii)   Non-agreeing adverbial modifiers may also occupy the two adjectival slots within definite NPs, though the position between article and noun is typical of formulaic expressions in formal/legal discourse ("the above mentioned Mr X" etc.):

ὁ ἄνωθεν κυρ-Γαλιάτσος δίδει τὴν ἀγελέαν του τὴν ἄνωθεν τῆ μαύρη τοῦ ἄνωθεν
κυρ-Γεωργηλά, νὰ σπείρη ὀφέτος
<div align="right">1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 57, 77.6–7</div>

τὸ χωράφι τὸ μέσα ὁπού ἔχουνε φυτεμένο σταφίδα
<div align="right">1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 15, 39.6</div>

(iii)   The neutral position for genitives within a definite NP is postnominal:

ἃς ἔχη τὸ χαρτί σου (καὶ) τ' ὄνομαν τοῦ δικαστοῦ   16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 493–4

τὰ μετρητὰ τοῦ πεθεροῦ μου μὲ πρῶτο καράβι ὅπου θέλει ἔρθει νὰ μᾶς τὰ στείλης
<div align="right">1697, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 64, 240.4–5</div>

Determiner spreading with genitives, however, is relatively rare, occurring mostly in early/archaizing texts and in verse:

ὁ δ' Ἀχίλλιος ἀκούσας, ὁ υἱὸς ὁ τοῦ Πηλέως, φέρνει στράτευμα Βουλγάρων
<div align="right">15th c./14th c., ERMON., *Ilias* 3.236–8</div>

τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὸ καθαρόν τὸ στίλβον τὸ τοῦ κάλλους
<div align="right">16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 179</div>

(iv)   Phrasal modifiers that normally occupy postnominal positions may be fronted before the definite article for emphasis or contrast. Preposed adjectival/adverbial expressions necessarily show determiner spreading, preposed genitives do so comparatively rarely (cf. (i)–(iii) above).

Determiner spreading in preposed/focalized constituents (so called "reverse determiner spreading") is an innovation of LMedG/EMG, indicating a shift in the status of definite postnominal modifiers from clarificatory/appositional adjuncts that automatically followed the head in AG to restrictive modifiers amenable to the rules of focalization in LMedG/EMG:

ἥλθασιν καὶ ηὕρασιν τὸ ἑρμηνευθὲν τὸ ῥυάκιν   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 78

ὁ Μέγας ὁ Δεμέστικος ἐπίστεψεν τοῦ Φράγκου   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4971

εἰς τὴν κλίνην Παλαμήδους τηνικαῦτα γοῦν τὸν θέτει τὸ τοῦ δόλου τὸ χαρτίον
<div align="right">15th c./14th c., Epirus, ERMON., *Ilias* 6.216–18</div>

τὸν τοῦ λουτροῦ τὸν ποταμὸν ὁλόχρυσον ἂν εἴποις
<div align="right">16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 799</div>

ἐδώκαμεν πρὸς τὸν τιμιώτατον κὺρ Μιχάλην τὸν Καθολικὸν τὸ ἐν τῆ τοποθεσίᾳ
τοῦ Σαράβαρη τὸ ἀμπέλιον   14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 147.2–3

ἔχομεν μεγάλον κίνδυνον ἀπὸ <u>τὰ κορσάρικα τὰ καράβια</u>

        1696, Dyrrachion, MERTZIOS 1947a: 7, 214.14–15

βουλὴν ἐποίκασι οἱ ἄπιστοι ... νὰ ἀπεράσουσι στὸν Μορέα, κουρσεύοντας καὶ <u>τοῦ</u>
<u>κόρφου τὲς μεριές</u>   18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 15.12–16

5.3.2.2   Indefinite NPs and Indefinite Determiners

**(76) The use of an indefinite NP indicates that the intended referent(s) cannot be
identified uniquely in the relevant domain of discourse due to lack of relevant
knowledge and/or the necessary contextual information.**

Indefiniteness is marked in a variety of ways in LMedG/EMG, as explained below.

Zero Article
Unquantified mass and abstract nouns with existential (i.e. non-generic) meanings stand-
ardly appear without an article or other determiner.

<u>τρόμος</u> λοιπὸν κατέλαβε καὶ <u>φόβος</u> τὴν ψυχήν μου   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 52

εἶσαι μπάϊλος σήμερον καὶ ἔχεις <u>ἐξουσίαν</u>   16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 7917

μὲ <u>μεγάλη ἔννοια</u> βρίσκομαι πῶς περνᾷ ἡ πανιερότη σου
        1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.9–10

<u>φαητὸ</u> νὰ φάγῃ δὲ ζητᾷ μηδὲ <u>πιοτὸ</u> γυρεύγει
        18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.736

But indefinite NPs in general, both singular and plural, may lack overt determination
throughout the period of this Grammar:

εἶχε δὲ καὶ <u>σύμβιον</u> τοὔνομα Θεοσεβοῦν   11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 16

ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτὸν <u>προσαίτης</u>   11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 21

ὁρίζει φέρετε <u>ἰατρούς</u>, τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. IV* 564 app. crit. (H)

<u>ἀρχάγγελος</u> τοὺς ἔδιωξε ὠγιὰ νὰ καταντήσουν ὁλόγδυμνοι, ξυπόλυτοι ἔξω τῆς
   παραδείσου   15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 119–20

<u>νεκροῦ</u> φωνὴν ἐγροίκησα καὶ ὁ νοῦς μου ὅλος ἐχάθην 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 22

ἔπεψεν <u>δούκαν</u> ὀνόματι Ἰσάκιον   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 8.38–9

ηὗρεν <u>πτωχὸν γέρον</u> εἰς τὰ ὄρη Μαραθάσας ὀνόματι Ἡσαΐας
        16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 36.22–3

<u>κάττης</u> καὶ <u>ποντικὸς</u> ἐμάχουντα   16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 28

ὁπότα ἔρθη <u>πασάτσο</u> καὶ δὲ μοῦ βαστοῦσι <u>γραφή</u>, μὲ μεγάλη ἔννοια βρίσκομαι πῶς
 περνᾷ ἡ πανιερότη σου   1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.9–10

ἀπὸ τότε ἐκάμασι <u>νόμον</u> οἱ Τοῦρκοι   17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.34

Ἱστορία Γαλαξειδίου ἐβγαλμένη ἀπὸ <u>παλαιὰ χερόγραφα, μεμβράνια, σιζίλια</u> καὶ
  <u>χρυσόβουλλα αὐθεντικά</u>   18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 13.1–3

NOTE

(i) Articles are also regularly absent from predicative NPs, since these do not refer but
rather attribute a property to their subjects:

<u>καταβλαττᾶς</u> ἂν ἔμαθον καὶ <u>σηκωτὴς</u> ἂν ἤμουν, ὡς <u>σηκωτὴς</u> νὰ ἐδούλευα τὴν
  ἅπασαν ἡμέραν   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 181–2

ἦτον δούκας Ἀθηνῶν, <u>καλὸς ἀφέντης</u> ἦτον   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7960

ἦτον <u>παρθένος</u> καὶ μετὰ τὴν γέννησιν πάλιν <u>παρθένος</u> ἔμεινεν
       16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.6–7

ὅθεν ἐγὼ γεννήθηκα <u>ἄνθρωπος χωρὶς μάτια</u>   17th c., PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* 103

Τις/τινάς
Singular and plural forms of τις/τινάς are used as indefinite pronouns and determiners
throughout the period of this Grammar in both positive (= "some(one)") and negative/
affective (= "any(one)") environments; in fact, affective environments often allow both
forms (with subtle differences of meaning) and include interrogative, modal, habitual, con-
ditional, future-referring and imperative sentences, i.e. those involving semantic functions
that do not ensure truth.

Singular forms used as determiners are often all but indistinguishable from indefinite
articles (= "an X"), plurals from indefinite quantifiers (= "some/any [number of] X"). As a
determiner τις/τινάς normally precedes the head noun, but may also follow.

The use of τις/τινάς in the plural and in positive environments is in decline in the later
medieval period, especially in more clearly vernacular texts (see below).

Positive

<u>τινὸς</u> δὲ <u>γεωργοῦ πτωχοῦ</u> ἀροτριῶντος καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν
       11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 81–2

ἵνα ... λάβω <u>τινὰν παραμυθίαν</u> τῆς λύπης 11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 100–1

<u>τινὲς ἀλλογενεῖς</u> τὲς χῶρες του κρουσεύουν 16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 120

διατί <u>τινὲς</u> εὑρίσκουνται νὰ λέγουν ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα 15th c., LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 256

εἶχαν <u>τινὰν δουλευτὴν</u>   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 30.7

ἐγύρευγεν <u>τινὰν ἔμπιστον ἄνθρωπον</u> νὰ τοῦ τὸ δώσῃ νὰ τῆς τὸ πάρῃ
      16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 408. 3–5

ρίκτει σπίτια ἀρχοντικὰ ... ... καὶ <u>ἄλλων πτωχῶν τινάδων</u>
      16th c., SKLAVOS, *Symf.* 21–2

<u>τινὲς ἰδιῶτες</u> ἔλεγαν δένδρον τοῦ ἡλίου τὸ ἕνα καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τὸ ἔλεγαν δένδρον τοῦ
  φεγγαρίου   16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.21–2

ἤτονε <u>τινὰς ἀφέντης</u> καὶ ἐβασίλευεν ἐκεῖ 17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 42.1–2

Negative/Affective

ὁ κῦρ Λούκας νὰ τὸ παραδώσῃ πρὸς τὸν Ἀνδρέαν χωρὶς <u>λόγου τινὸς ἢ προφάσεως</u>
      1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.13–14

ἂν ἔναι <u>τινὰς</u> ὅπου δὲν σὲ ἀκούει ἢ νὰ ποιῇ ἀταξίας

    15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 100.5

ἂν ἔν' καὶ ἰδῇς <u>πτωχὸν τινὰν</u> καὶ στάμενα νὰ μὴ ἔχῃ

    16th c./15th c., DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 2353

ἔναι δύσκολον <u>τινὰς</u> νὰ τὸ πιστεύσῃ   16th c./15th c., DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 1685

διὰ τοῦτον δὲν ἔχω <u>τινὰν ἀγκαρδιακὸν</u> εἰς τὰ πράματά μου παρὰ ἐσέναν

    16th c./15th c., VOUSTR. *Chron.*, A 48.5

ἔφη πρὸς αὐτήν «Ἔχεις <u>μάρτυράς τινας;</u>»   15th–16th c., *Porikol.* I 41–2

εἰ εἶναι <u>τινὰς ράπτης</u> καὶ παίρνει ραπτικὰ ἀπὸ καλογέρους

    1532, Macedonia, DELIALIS 1969: 251.70

ἂν ὑπάγῃ <u>τινὰς ἀποκρισάρης</u> νὰ φιλήσῃ χέρι, νὰ πιάνουσι οἱ καπικῆδες τὰ δύο του

χέρια καὶ ἀπὸ κεῖ νὰ τὸ φιλήσῃ   17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.34–5

ὁ ἀδελφός σου ὁ Μουσουλμάνος κάμει πράματα, ὅπου δὲν πρέπει νὰ τὰ κάνῃ <u>τινὰς</u>

<u>βασιλέας</u>   17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 45.7–8

δύνεται <u>τινὰς ἄνθρωπος</u> νὰ πίῃ ὅλην τὴν θάλασσαν;   17th c., *Vios Aisop.* I 267.23

In many vernacular texts from ca. 12th c. onwards τινάς appears exclusively as a singular form in negative/affective environments with the meaning "any(one)". In the specific case of negated sentences, AG τις = "any(one)" is required to fall within the scope of sentence negation, i.e. to the right of the negative marker (to the left τις = "some(one) [... not ...]"); by contrast, LMedG/EMG τινάς in the relevant texts always means "any" whether it precedes or follows the negative marker (i.e. the equivalent of *anyone did not ... is grammatical with the meaning "no one did ... ").

Pronominal use of τινάς is more common than use as an indefinite determiner.

τινάς before a Negative Marker

κακὸς ἐχθρὸς ἢ φυλακή ... μεσίτην οὐ προσδέχεται, <u>φίλον τινὰ</u> οὐκ ἔχει

    13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 239–40

ποτὲ <u>τινὰς</u> οὐκ ἤκουσεν οὐδὲ εἶδε τοιοῦτον πρᾶγμα   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 369

<u>ἄλλον τινὰν</u> φοβερισμὸν ποσῶς οὐδὲν σᾶς λέγει   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1373

κάλλος <u>τινὰν</u> οὐκ ὠφελεῖ, οὐ πλοῦτος, οὐδὲ ἀνδρεία

    15th–16th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 1916

ἐσὺ <u>τινὰν</u> ποσῶς οὐδὲν φοβᾶσαι   15th c., LIMEN. *Than. Rod.* 206

<u>τινὰς ἄνθρωπος</u> δὲν τὴν οἶδεν   16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 401.9

<u>τινὰς</u> δὲν τὴν ἐγνώρισε   18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* II.1500

<u>ἄνθρωπον τινὰν</u> δὲν ἐβλέπανε   17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 111.22–3

ὅλα τὰ ξυνὰ εἶναι ψυχρὰ καὶ δυσκοίλια, παύουσι τὴν δίψαν, ἀμὴ <u>θροφὴν τινὰ</u> δὲν

δίδουσι   17th c., LANDOS, *Geopon.* 214.12

Εἷς/ἕνας

The numeral εἷς/ἕνας "one" is increasingly used as an indefinite article to replace the corresponding singular forms of τις/τινάς, mainly in positive environments; in negative

environments, however, it may not precede the negative marker and the strengthened form κανείς/κανένας is used in this role (see below).

Postnominal positioning is an option only in the oldest texts; otherwise this element almost always precedes the head noun (as expected of numerals).

ὅμως οὐκ ἐν <u>γωνίᾳ μιᾷ</u> εἴτε εἰς <u>μικράν τινα πόλιν</u> καὶ οὐδαμινὴν γενομένη

    12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 4, 226.3–5

ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ πύργου ἦτον <u>μία γάτα</u> καὶ κάτω εἰς τὸ θεμέλιον <u>ἕνας</u>

<u>ποντικός</u>   post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 89, 76.1

εὑρέθη ἐδῶ ... ὡσὰν <u>ἕναν πουλὶν</u> εἰς τὸν κάμπον

    1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 11, 68.2–3

τὸ ψῆλος τοῦ νεροῦ ἔχει σημάδιν <u>ἕναν καρφὶν</u> εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Γεώργιον τῶν Ὀρνιθίων

    16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 60.24

ἀρχεύγει <u>ἕναν ἔργον</u>   15th–16th c., *Fior* 73.5

ἦτον <u>ἕνας</u> ὀνόματι Μιχαὴλ <u>Δούκας Γλαβᾶς</u>

    1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.3–4

σ' <u>ἕνα περβόλι</u> εὑρίσκομου, 'ς <u>μιὰ τάβλα</u> μαρμαρένια μὲ φαγητὰ πολλῶ λογιῶν

πιτήδεια ὀρδινιασμένα   17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* III.545–6

ἔτσι κι ἐκείνη <u>γεῖς καιρὸς</u> θέλει τήνε μερώσῃ   17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* I.139

ἐτότες ἐφάνηκε <u>ἕνας καβαλάρης</u>   18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 19.1–2

(Ὀ)κάτις/(ὁ)κάποιος

The positive indefinite pronouns/determiners (ὁ)κάτις/(ὁ)κάποιος "some(one)" are widely used in vernacular texts throughout the period of this Grammar to replace the corresponding uses of τις, both singular and plural; in the singular the meaning may often be very close to that of an indefinite article, as expected.

The two forms are functionally equivalent, and almost always precede the head noun when used as indefinite determiners.

The neuter form (ὁ)κάτι is sometimes used as an indeclinable positive indefinite specifier with nouns of any gender or number.

Despite the convention of printing the prefix ὀ- with a rough breathing, this may have originated as the negative οὐ- (also attested, again printed with a rough breathing) with a shift of meaning in the period before ca. AD 1000 from "not any (random) X" to "some (particular) X". Prefixless forms become the norm towards the end of the period of this Grammar.

(ὁ)κάτις

ἐὰν γίνεται ... ὅτι <u>ὀκάτινες ἄνθρωποι</u>, οὗ <u>ὀκάτινες γυναῖκες</u> παίρνει οὗ κλέπτει τὰς

ὀρνιθάς μου   15th c./13th c., *Assizes* B 450.23

ἔλεγε γὰρ ὁ βασιλεύς ὅτι <u>ὀκάτις ρήγας</u> ἦλθεν   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 2765 app. crit. (A)

<u>ὀκάτις βασιλεύς</u> ... πολλὰ πράγματα ἔποικεν   16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 882

<u>ὀκάτι ψιθυρίσματα</u> λαλεῖ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ της

    16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1164

ἂν ἔναι <u>κάτις εὐγενικὸς</u> καὶ ἔχει τὸ κάλλος ἔμορφον   15th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 192

οὕτως τάχα ἔκαμαν <u>ὀκάτι ψευδογάπη</u>   15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1979

<u>ὀκάτι φράγκος ἄνθρωπος</u> ... ἦλθεν ἀπὸ τὴν Πούλια   15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 3548–53

πεῖτε της <u>ὀκάτι καταλόγι</u>   15th c., LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 36

ἦρθε <u>ὀκάτις ἀδελφός</u>   15th c., ?Athos, VASMER 1922: 180

<u>ὀκάτιν μέγαν εὐγενῆ</u> ... τὸν ἔσφαξεν Ἰάκωβος 16th c./15th c., DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 560–2

ἂν ἔχω <u>ὀκάτι ὑπομονὴν</u> τώρα εἰς τὴν θλῖψιν τούτην
      16th c./15th c., DELLAP., *Erot. apokr.* 662

καὶ γροικῶντα <u>κάτινες καβαλλάριδες</u> πιστοὶ τοῦ ρηγός
      16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 42.33–4

<u>ὀκάτι λόγος</u> μοῦ ἐσέβη εἰς τὰ ὦτα   16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 210.19 (Lolos)

ἔσπειρε στὸ χωράφι τῆς διάνοιας <u>κατινῶν παρανόμων</u> κάποιαν πρόφασιν
      16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 55

ἐπούλησε τὸ Σάλονα ... εἰς <u>κάτι Φραγγοπαπάδες</u>
      18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 40.17–19

(ὁ)κάποιος

<u>ὀκάποιας κᾶν γειτόνισσας</u> ροῦχον νὰ ἐπαρελύθην   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 162

<u>ὀκάποιος βασιλέας</u> ... πολλὰ πράγματα ἔποικε   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 882

<u>οὐκάποια τραγούδια</u> ἐτραγουδοῦσαν   16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 38.9 (Konstantinopulos)

ἔστοντας καὶ νά 'χεν <u>κάποια χωράφια</u> καὶ ἄλλα πράματα πουλημένα
      1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 344, 323.2

ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ ἤθελεν ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν μὲ τὴν ἀδελφήν τως <u>εἰς κάποια πράγματα</u>
      1616, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968 : 2, 28.10

τὴν ὁποίαν διήγησιν μοῦ εἴπασιν <u>κάποιοι ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς</u> ἀπὸ τὴν μέσαν χώραν τῆς
Αἰθιοπίας   17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 30.17–8

Κανείς/κανένας

The negative/affective indefinite pronoun/determiner κανείς/κανένας "any(one)" is widely
used in vernacular texts to replace the corresponding uses of τις/τινάς, but in the singular
only; its meaning may often be very close to that of an indefinite article.

The neuter form τίποτε(ς) may, however, be used in later texts as an indeclinable nega-
tive/affective indefinite modifier with nouns of any gender or number.

These elements almost always precede their head nouns when used as indefinite deter-
miners (a role in which κανένας is more usual, though κανείς is also attested).

Κανείς/κανένας may again precede or follow the negative marker in negative sentences
with the same (negative/affective) meaning in both positions.

κανείς/κανένας

... εἰς μαρτυρίαν <u>κανενοῦ πραγμάτου</u>   15th c./?13th c., *Assizes* B 334.25

εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔλθη ἀπὸ τὸν τόπον του <u>κανεὶς ἄνθρωπος</u>
      1355, Palatia (Militos), MANOUSAKAS 1962b: 1, 234.12

<u>φόβον κανέναν</u> ἀπὸ σὲν νὰ μὴ ἔχω νὰ μὲ ἀφήσης
      15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 414 app. crit. (ABEX)

πούποτε οὐκ ἠκούσθηκεν οἱ Τοῦρκοι νὰ βοηθήσουν <u>κανεῖν ἀφέντην χριστιανόν</u>, εἰ μὴ
νὰ τὸν κομπώνουν   15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 498–9

δὲν ἐγίνην ἀφορμὴ <u>κανενοῦ κακοῦ</u>   16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 376

<u>κιαμιᾶς λογῆς</u> ἀνάπαψη δὲν ηὕρισκεν ἡ κόρη
      18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.14

εἰσὲ <u>κανέναν γκαιρὸν</u> ἂ(ν) χαθοῦσιν ἀπὸ <u>καμμιᾶς λογῆς</u> ἀφορμήν, τινὰς δὲ σοῦ
ἀπηλογᾶται
      1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 761, 1033.1

... χωρὶς νὰ ἀπαντέξη <u>καμίαν ἄλλην ἀπόκρισην</u>   18th c., *Don Kis.* 50.13

τίποτε(ς)

ἐάν τις τῶν αὐτόθι ... λέγει <u>τίποτες</u>   12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 151.1–2

οὐδὲν εἶχεν <u>τίποτες ἔνδειξιν</u>   15th c./13th c., *Assizes* B 361.19

<u>τίποτες πόλεμος</u> οὐδὲν ἔναι   16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 30.23–4 (Konstantinopulos)

παρὰ γιὰ νὰ 'βρω <u>τίβετσι τρόπο</u> νὰ σοῦ βουηθήσω
      17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* I.114

ἔχεις <u>τίποτες εὐλογίαν</u> ...;   17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 401.27

ἀπομένουσι τὰ <u>τίποτές</u> της ἀδιόρθωτα
      1629, Milos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 14, 10.7

ἔχω <u>τίβετις πρᾶγμα</u> τῆς Μαρί(ας)   1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.140

ἂν ἰχρεωστοῦσαν <u>τίποτις ροῦχα</u> μιᾶς τῆς ἄλλης
      1664, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 3, 20.14–15

ἐγὼ θέλω ἔχει τὴν ἔγνοιαν νὰ σὲ στέλνω <u>τίποτε φαγητόν</u>   18th c., *Don Kis.* 144.22

NOTE

(i)   There are a few, relatively early, examples where κανείς/κανένας is used to mean
simply "one" (or sometimes "a(n)"), apparently independently of whether the context
is positive or negative/affective; this is perhaps a residual reflection of a still earlier
state of affairs in which κανείς/κανένας was no more than a strengthened form of εἷς/
ἕνας (replacing τις/τινάς) in a period before its use came to be polarized through
opposition with the positive (ὁ)κάτις/(ὁ)κάποιος:

ἂς τὸν δοκιμάσωμεν <u>κανεὶς ἀπὸ τοὺς τρεῖς μας</u>   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 1217 app. crit.

ἀπέτις ἀπεξέβηκαν <u>κανέναν μίλι</u>, δύο   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 1411

ἐὰν ἔνι ὅτι ἔνι εἰς ὀρφανός ἢ ὀρφανή, ἢ <u>κανέναν παιδὶν</u> 16th c./?13th c., *Assizes* A 29.26

ἂς τοὺς ἀφήσουμε ὀλιγόν, <u>κανέναν μῆναν πλέον</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 611

Οὐδείς/οὐδένας

In preverbal positions the AG pronoun/determiner οὐδείς is an inherently negative quantifi-
er ("no(one)") used without a following negative marker; in postverbal positions, however,

it is normally used as a strong negative/affective indefinite after a negative marker, i.e. as an emphatic alternative to negative/affective τις (= "not … ANY(one)").

Οὐδείς/οὐδένας persists into LMedG/EMG alongside κανείς/κανένας, with its role still determined by its position and the presence/absence of a negative marker. Its use is normally associated with rather higher registers, and it may be misused in more vernacular texts because of the influence of κανείς/κανένας, which requires a negative marker whatever its position in a negative sentence. Μηδείς/μηδένας is sometimes used in place of οὐδείς/ οὐδένας, particularly when the verb is in the subjunctive.

Non-traditional Usage

οὐδείς οὐκ ἔνι ἀπ' ἐμᾶς εἰς ὅλον τὸ φουσσᾶτον   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 7967

οὐδενενοῦ βασιλέως οὐδὲν ἐφαλτσωσάμεν   16th c., *Diig. Alex.* K 346.24–5

Standard Usage

οὐδείς ἄνθρωπος ἔμεινεν μέσα τοῦ κάστρου   15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 2340

μηδένας τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπού σᾶς … ἀφοραθῇ τοῦτον   16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 389

… δὲν ἔχω μηδεμιὰ γαζέτα στὴν ἐξιά μου   17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* II.194

οὐδένα πρᾶμα ἔκαμα   17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* II.357

μηδεὶς οὖν τῶν σοφῶν καταφρονήσῃ τῆς ἀμαθείας μου 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 29.6

μὰ μηδένας ἄλλος καραβοκύρης μοῦ τὸ πιστεύγῃ πῶς
1648, Corfu (author from Crete), Manousakas 1965: 268.9

NOTES

(i) The normal position of an attributive adjective in an indefinite NP is before the head noun, but the adjective may also follow (without specifiers) if the meaning is essentially predicative and not crucial to distinguishing one class of possible referents from another; in such cases the meaning is typically focal (i.e. "an X [that is] *ADJ*"):

πλάσματα πάλιν μυθικὰ καὶ λόγους γραϊδίων ἠκριβωσάμην
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 4–5

τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν, ἐγίνετον σεισμὸς μέγας εἰς ὅλην τὴν Λευκωσίαν
1479, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 6, 89.1–2

(ii) The normal position for genitives within an indefinite NP is postnominal, but these may be preposed for contrast or emphasis in the usual way:

ἔσυρνε μαζί του 4000 καβελλάρους, … πληρωμένους δύων χρονῶν πληρωμή
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.29–30

5.3.2.3   Demonstratives

(77) LMedG/EMG demonstratives are used both as pronouns (as heads of NPs) and as determiners (in NPs with independent head nouns) and have both deictic and anaphoric functions; as determiners they appear in definite NPs, standing either before the definite article or after the head noun.

The demonstratives of LMedG/EMG fall into two groups according to the (notional) distance from the speaker of the objects/individuals they are used to identify, namely proximal ("this") and distal ("that"); there is no clear evidence of a further division within the proximal group between 1st- and 2nd-person orientation. While both types are also used anaphorically ("the one just mentioned"), only the former is additionally employed cataphorically ("the following"):

"this"
αὐτός, αῦτος, εὐτός, (ἐ)δαῦτος
αὐτεῖνος, αὐτοῦνος, αὐτόνος
οὗτος, (ἐ)τοῦτος, (ἐ)δετοῦτος
ὅδε (mostly archaic/official, and often cataphoric in legal texts; mainly neuter)
*ἐτοῦνος (only oxytone genitive forms found)

"that"
ἐκεῖνος, (ἐ)δεκεῖνος (rare)
(ἐ)κειός

The postnominal position for demonstratives is less emphatic than the pre-article position and is often, though not always, associated with anaphoric function; NP-initial demonstratives, however, are as likely to be anaphoric as deictic (with the latter probably carrying heavier stress).

NP-Initial

ἀπ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖ αὐτὴν ἐλευθέρην καὶ οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν εἰς αὐτὴν
ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 234.274–5

ἀνὴρ τίς … ἀνήγειρέ τε ἐκ βάθρ(ων) αὐτ(ὸν) τ(ὸν) ναὸν ἐξ οἰκεί(ων) κόπ(ων) κ(αὶ) ἀναλωμ(ά)τ(ων)
1365, Serres, LEFORT 1973: 27, 162.9

ἀπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐνθύμησιν καὶ ἐκ τὴν πολλὴν πικρίαν ἔπεσεν εἰς ἀσθένειαν, ἀπόθανεν εὐθέως
15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 3172–3

εἶχεν δὲ καὶ ὁ πρῶτος τούτην τὴν συνήθει(αν)
1501, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: 6, 103.23

εἰς τὴν Καψοράχη ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους ὅπου οἱ καλογέροι τοῦ μοναστ(η)ρ(ίου) ἐπιάσαν
1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 8, 129.9

πῶς εὑρέθης εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ταπεινὸν σπίτιν ἐτουνῆς τῆς γυναικός
17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 67.33

Postnominal

οἱ νηστείαις ταύταις (nom. pl.) … ἐπιτρέπονται εἰς τοὺς χριστιανούς
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 4 214.1–3

τὸ δένδρον ἐκεῖνον   1146, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 5, 618.30

ἐντὸς τοῦ τέρμενου ἐκείνου ποῦ ἔστησε ὁ Καμπανέσης   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2118

ἀφότου ἐσὺ ἀποδέχεσαι νὰ εἶσαι ἀβοκάτος διὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν αὐτὴν τῆς ντάμα Μαργαρίτας   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7528–9

τὰς ἀμοιβὰς τῶν πράξεων καὶ <u>τῶν κόπων ἐκείνων</u> νῦν λαμβάνετε

16th c., GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 606

ἐδούλευσα τοὺς ἀδυνάτους καὶ <u>τὰ κελία ἐτούτα</u> χρόνους κε'

16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.19

NOTES

(i)   Certain other determiners also have secondary anaphoric functions, most importantly τοιοῦτος/(τ)έτοιος "such". These are often used in indefinite NPs ("such [an] X") where they stand before the head, initially in a sequence of adjectival modifiers and normally without an indefinite article in singular NPs (though one is sometimes introduced in later texts):

<u>τοιοῦτον κρίσιμον</u> μέλλει νὰ κριθῆ   15th c./?13th c., *Assizes* B 376.11

<u>τέτοιον σκοπὸν</u> ἐχείρισεν νὰ παίζῃ τὸ καλάμιν   14th c./13th–14th c., *Log. parig.* L 216

οὐδὲ εἶδεν το οὐδὲ ἤκουσεν <u>τέτιον πρᾶγμα</u> νὰ γένει   15th c., *Anon. Naupl.* 52

οὐ θέλομεν <u>τέτοιες μυθολογίες</u>   16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 259

ἐπιθυμῶντας νὰ διορθώσω <u>τέτιον ἀπρεπὲς πρᾶγμα</u>

1693, Corfu, TSITSAS 1978/79: [2], 209.158

ὦ τί μεγάλο κρῖμα, <u>ἕνας τοιοῦτος βασιλεὺς</u> νὰ ἔμπῃ μὲς στὸ μνῆμα

18th c./17th c., *Diig. Vefa* 125

ἐγὼ κάμνει χρεία νὰ βάλω ὅλην μου τὴν δύναμην διὰ νὰ ἀποβάλω <u>μίαν τοιαύτην ὕβρην</u>

18th c., *Don Kis.* 49.20–1

Given the functional overlap with anaphoric demonstratives, however, these items also appear in definite NPs, though they retain their adjectival position, standing between the article and noun; the definite construction is particularly common in earlier texts and with τοιοῦτος:

ἐπέδειξαν ἡμῖν γεγραμμένον ὅτι <u>τὸ τοιοῦτον μυλοστάσιον</u> ἀγόρακε αὐτὸ

1123, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. X: 1, 471.13

ὡς δὲ <u>τὸ τίτιον μήνυμαν</u> ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κρατοῦντα   ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.7v.1

εἰς <u>τὴν τοιαύτην ὑπόθεσιν</u> ἔχομεν καὶ μέρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας

1337/8, Constantinople, HUNGER et al. 1995: 109, 92.51–2

ἐπεὶν τοῦ ἐφάνηκεν καλὸν εἰς <u>τὸν ἐτέτοιον τρόπον</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3589

θέλοντας γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ προειρημ(έ)ν(η) κυρὰ Ζαμπέτ(α) ποιῆσαι ἀνταμοιβὴν <u>τῶν τ[οι]ούτ(ων) χαρίτων</u>

1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 12, 48.10

<u>τὲς τοιούτες γνῶμες</u> καὶ τὰ ἤθη ὁποὺ εἶναι ἐπίβουλα καὶ ὄχι ἁπλὰ πρέπει νὰ τὰ φεύγομεν

?17th c./16th–17th c., *Theophr. Char.* 120.6

(ii) Relative pronouns such as ὁ (ὁ)ποῖος, ὅστις/ὅτις, ὅσπερ are similarly used as anaphoric pronouns/determiners linking clauses/sentences:

<u>νομίσματα</u> ἑκατὸν τριακονταδύο, <u>ἅπερ νομίσματα</u> ... παρὰ διαφόρων προσώπων ἐδανεισάμην

1024, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 25, 175.14

τὲς συμφωνίες ὅπου εἴδαμεν ἐνταῦτα· <u>στὲς ὁποῖες</u> ἔνι ἡ βοῦλλα του καὶ ἐμᾶς ὁλῶν μετ' αὐτου

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2380–1

ἀνεντρανίζω καὶ θωρῶ θρονὶν τὸ πλουμισμένον, <u>τὸ ποῖον θρονὶν</u> καθέζεται ντοῦζες τῆς Βενετίας

15th c., *Diig. Ven.* 41–2

τὴν ἀδελφὴν τῆς γυναίκας του εἶχεν τὴν ἔνας παχιάς· <u>οἱ ποῖες</u> ἦτον Κατακουζηνές

16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 132.18

ἀφίημι τῷ εἰρημένῳ μοναστηρίῳ καὶ <u>μελίττας</u> σώματα <κε'> ..., <u>αἵτινες μέλιττες</u> εἰσὶν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ κῦρ Κωνσταντίου μοναχοῦ

1512, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 34, 59.13–14

Βιβλίον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ δικαίου Λαζάρου· <u>ὁ ὁποῖος Λάζαρος</u> ἔκαμε τέσσαρες ἡμέρες εἰς τὸν Ἅδην   1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 11, 19.1

γιὰ <u>τὸ ὁποῖο στάρι</u> τὸ ἄνωθεν ὁπλεγάρουνται οἱ ἄνωθεν ἀξαδέλφοι καὶ ἀπομένου ἐγγυητάδες ἕνας τοῦ ἀλλοῦ τωνε

1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 64, 84.14–15

ἐδιάβη καταπάνω τοῦ Καραλούκη καὶ ἐπῆρε του τὴν ἀφεντία τῆς Σουμάκιας· <u>ὁ ὁποῖος Καραλούκης</u> εἶχε φουσσᾶτο   17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.36–31.1

5.3.3   Relative Clauses

(78) **A relative clause may be used as a restrictive modifier of any NP in order to help identify a particular referent (when the head is singular) or particular subset of referents (when the head is plural).**

A restrictive relative clause delimits the potential referent(s) of a NP, cf. *the woman that fell* (as opposed to all those who did not), *the students who worked hard* (as opposed to all those who did not), etc.

In LMedG/EMG a restrictive relative clause may be introduced by the relative pronoun ὅς (more formal/literary) or by the definite article (more vernacular), both of which provide an anaphoric link to the antecedent NP. More frequently, the clause is structurally linked to its antecedent by the complementizer ὅπου/ὁποῦ/ποῦ (often ἀπού in Crete and Cyprus), an element that doubtless came to be interpreted as fulfilling a similar anaphoric role.

The pronouns (ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος, ὅστις/ὅτις and ὅσπερ are employed comparatively rarely in restrictive relatives, mostly in archaizing/literary and official/legal registers. Neuter ὅ,τι, however, is a strong survivor in vernacular LMedG/EMG in its original sense of "whatever" (see below on headless relatives), while neuter ὅπερ and ἅπερ, reanalysed as indeclinable complementizers on the model of ὅπου/ὁποῦ/ποῦ, appear frequently with antecedents of any number and gender (sometimes in combination with the definite article in formal/legal texts, especially in early documents from S. Italy; this usually agrees in case with the antecedent, see immediately below).

It is comparatively rare for any of these items to carry grammatical functions within a restrictive relative clause other than subject and direct object; as object of a preposition, or when cases other than the nominative and accusative are required, (ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος is used most often.

The article and the various relative pronouns are fully declinable, agreeing with their head nouns in number and gender, and in principle taking the case associated with their grammatical function within the relative clause (mostly nominative/subject and accusative/ direct object). But a relative clause introduced by the definite article is an appositional constituent (i.e. of the form *the thing + the (thing) someone did*) in which the article replicates the case of the antecedent regardless of its grammatical function within the relative clause; to eliminate any potential difficulties, this construction is normally limited to situations in which both antecedent and article would be assigned the same case within their own clauses, making the case agreement required by their appositional relationship unproblematical. The relative pronouns ὅς and ὅσπερ, however, also regularly agree with ("are attracted to") their antecedents in case, if the case requirements of the main clause and the relative clause differ; by contrast, (ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος shows almost no evidence of attraction and ὅστις/ὅτις very little. Case-agreeing relative pronouns are italicized in the excerpts below.

ὅς (mainly early and literary; case attraction to antecedent when there is conflict)

ἐξόρισαν τοὺς βελλάνους ἀπὸ τοῦ Φωκαιροῦ *οὓς* ἐκατοίκουν εἰς τὴν χώραν
?1130–40, Sicily, Cusa 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 534.18

ἠλευθέρωνεν ἅπαντας *οὓς* εἶχεν αἰχμαλώτους   13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G II.5

οὐκέτι τούτων ἕνεκεν δάκνεται τὴν καρδίαν, *πάντων* ἐπιλαθόμενος *ὧν* εἶχεν ἐν τῷ βίῳ   13th c./12th c., Glykas, *Stichoi* 107–8

σκότος δὲ πάλιν ἀφεγγὲς *τὸν σκοτασμόν* μου κρίνω *ὃν* ἔχω τότε, βασιλεῦ, ὅταν ψωμὶν οὐκ ἔχω   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 234

ἀφήκαμεν *τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν* ηὕραμεν ἐκεῖσε   15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* V 2842

πῶς παραβλέπει τὸν κριτήν, *τὴν φοβερὰν ἡμέραν ἣν* μέλλει γὰρ παρίστασθαι τρόμῳ πολλῷ καὶ φόβῳ   15th–16th c./15th c., *Alfav.* 14 69

ἔστειλά σοι καὶ *τὴν γραφὴν ἣν* μοι ἐπαρέδωκεν ὁ τῆς Γένουβας φίλος μου
1487, Chios, Lefort 1981: 12, 71.2–3

τὰ πράγματα *ἃ* μοι ἐπῆρεν κουρφὰ ἡ Παντοσυλία
1506, Crete, Kaklamanis/Lambakis 2003: 1, 3.10

εἰπὲ ἡμῖν *παραβολὰς ἃς* οὔτε ἠκούσαμεν οὔτε ἠξεύρομεν   17th c., *Vios Aisop.* D 240.17

Definite Article (vernacular; almost always direct object)

τὴν ἐπιστολὴ τὴν σὲ ἔπεμψα μὲ τὸν Θεόδωρον   12th c./11th c., Nikon, *Logos* 9 314.15

εἰ μὲν τὸν θέλεις κακοποιῆσαι διὰ τὰ σφάλματα αὐτοῦ καὶ *τὴν παρακοὴν τὴν* ποιεῖ πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν σου βασιλείαν   ?1130–40, Sicily, Cusa 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 535.9–11

οὐκ ἐγνωρίζεις, δέσποτα, *τὸν Πρόδρομον τὸν* ἔχεις   15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 42

ἐχαρίσαμε τοῦ Γεωργίου … *τὸ κοπέλι τὸ* ἔχει εἰς τὴν δούλεψή του ἀπὸ τὸ<ν> χωρίο μας τῆς Θεμούρφου   1468, Nicosia, Richard/Papadopoullos 1983: 72, 36.1–3

ἐπρουμουτίασεν τοῦ μεγάλου μαστόρου νὰ κρατήσῃ κρυφὰ *πᾶσα πρᾶμαν τὸ* νὰ τοῦ ποίσουσιν   16th c./15th c., Machairas, *Chron.* V 12.5–7

τὸν Δημήτρην … τὸν δουλευφτήν μας ποίσετε *τὸ καλλίττερον τὸ* νὰ μπορήσητε …, καὶ *πᾶσα χρῆσιν τὴν* ἔχει μὲ(ν) τοῦ τὸ κρατήσῃς
16th c./15th c., Machairas, *Chron.* V 412.11–14

τὸ κελίον … μὲ τὴν περιοχήν του ἤγουν μὲ τὰς ἐλαίας καὶ μὲ *τὸ νερὸν τὸ* ἤφερεν ἐκεῖνος ὁ Δανιὴλ ὁ Βούλγαρης   1501, Athos, Pavlikianov 2006: VII, 105.2–3

ἀπὸ ἐκεῖ μίλια γ´ εὑρίσκεις *τὸ ἀκρωτήριν τὸ* λέγουν Ἄρπην
1534, Unknown, Tselikas/Koromila 2003: A, 53.20

ὅπου/ὁπού/πού (standard vernacular option)

ἂν μὲ ἔποισαν τεχνίτην, ἀπ᾽ *αὐτοὺς ὁπού* κάμνουσιν τὰ κλαπωτὰ καὶ ζῶσιν, νὰ ἔμαθα τέχνην κλαπωτὴν καὶ νὰ ἔξουν ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνην   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 89–91

θωρεῖς αὐτὸν *τὸν ἄγουρον ποὺ* στέκει εἰς τὸ λιθάριν   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 1507

εἶπε τον διὰ *τίποτε λογάριν ὅπου* νὰ χρήζῃ, μετ᾽ αὐτὸ φουσσᾶτα νὰ ρογέψῃ
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4563–4

παρακαλῶ κι ὁρίζω σε … *τὸν τόπον ὅπου* ἐκέρδισα ἐδῶ εἰς τὸν Μορέαν νὰ παραλάβῃς καὶ κρατῇς, διὰ ἐμὲν νὰ τὸν φυλάττῃς   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1874–6

τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἑκατὸν δουκάτα τὸν μῆνα … νὰ ἐξοδιάζωνται εἰς *τινας ἄρχοντας καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα ὁποῦ* νὰ εἶναι κοντὰ των   1465, Rome, Lambros 1930: 285.6–9

τ᾽ *ἀμπέλιν ποὺ* ἐγόρασα   (1528, Naxos, Karaboula/Rodolakis 2012/13: 113, 224.40)

ἦλθαν καὶ *οἱ βοσκοὶ ὁποῦ* ἔβοσκαν τὰ πρόβατα ἐκεῖ τὸ γύρο καὶ λέγουν ὅτι ἡμεῖς εἴδαμεν *πλῆθος ἀγγέλων ὁποῦ* εὐχαριστοῦσαν τὸν Θεὸν
16th c., Kartanos, *P&N Diath.* 331.28–31

ἔγραφα τῆς πανιερότη σου … *τὰ βάσανα ὁποῦ* ἦρθε καὶ ἔκαμέν τση ὁ καλὸς καλόγερος   1610, Crete, Chaireti 1969: 3, 169.6–7

αὐτὸ σὲ τὸ εἶπα … ἀπὸ *τὴν πρώτην βαλανιδιὰν ὁποῦ* νὰ εὕρω, νὰ κόψω καὶ ἐγὼ ἕνα μεγάλο κλαδί   18th c., *Don Kis.* 46.36–47.1–2

ἀπού (in texts from Crete/Cyprus)

ἔλα εἰς αὐτόν μου, κ᾽ ἐγὼ νὰ σοῦ δώσω *θησαυρὸν ἀπού* νὰ μὲν σὲ λείψῃ
16th c./15th c., Machairas, *Chron.* V 62.33–4

μὲ καιρὸν φτάνει εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐκείνη *ἀπού* ἤτονε *ὁ ἄρχων ἀπού* τὴν ηὗρεν εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν … καί, ὁδιὰ *τὸ κρίμα ἀπού* ἤκαμεν, τοῦ ἤδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς μίαν λέπραν
17th c./16th c., Morezinos, *Klini* 56.18–21

μιὰ ψυχὴ ἀπού εὑρίσκεται τοῦ πόθου ἀρρωστημένη, σφαίνει τσὶ πλιάτερες φορὲς καὶ μένει κομπωμένη   17th c., Troilos, *Rodol.* IV.163–4

(ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος (restrictive use limited, mainly formal/legal; no case attraction)

ὁμοίως καὶ *τὴν ποσότην ἡ ποία* ὑπάρχει ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ κράτει
1257, Sicily, Cusa 1868/82: Coll. IX: 33, 457.17

ἐκεῖνος ἢ ἐκείνη τοῦ ποίου ἔνι ἐγγυητὴς   16th c./?13th c., *Assizes* A 70.10

ἔξω ἀπὸ *τὰ ιδ´ μιζούρια* τὸ κριθάριν *τὰ ποῖα τοῦ* θέλει ὁ Μαυρομάτης
1327, Crete, Laiou 1982: 1, 123.6

τὰ πράγμ(ατα) ὁποῖ(α) θέλομεν π(α)ραλάβει

1398, Corfu, Asonitis 1993: 1 [A'], 19.14

ἐβάσταινε σκουτάρι στὸ ὁποιον τὰ βασίλεια τοῦ Νερέου ἐφαινέτον

15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* VI.48,2 (Olsen)

τὴν ὑποταγὴν παιδικὴν εἰς τὴν ποίαν ἕως τώρα ἐμὲν ὑποτάσσεσθε

1446, Crete, Manousakas 1964: 17, 98.4

φλωρία χρυσᾶ ὁποῖα ἔδωσα   1473, Corfu, Konidaris/Rodolakis 1996: 57, 177.8–9

περὶ τινὰ κάστρη καὶ τόπους τὰ ὁποῖα ἐπῆρε ὁ σκλάβος μου

1480, Constantinople, Bombaci 1954: 9, 313.8

περὶ τὸν σκλάβον σου ... τὸν ποῖον ἤκουσεν ἡ αὐθεντία σου

1487, Rhodes, Lefort 1981: 10, 65.3

εἴπασιν Μαστόρου πρᾶμαν τὸ ποῖον δὲν τοῦ ἄρεσεν   16th c., Achelis, *Malt. Pol.* 2133

ὑπέρπυρα ἐξήντα τὰ ὁπγιὰ εἶναι ρέστος   1623, Crete, Xanthoudidis 1912: 47, 126.6

NOTE

(i)   In some cases where the article is absent the ancient meaning "such as" may be intended:

διαφυλασσόντων τὰς πατρικὰς ἡμῶν ... παραδόσεις ὁποίας παρελάβομεν παρά τε τῶν οἰκουμενικῶν ἑπτὰ ἁγίων συνόδων

13th c., Constantinople, Darrouzès/Laurent 1976: 1, 191.4–5, 13 C

ὅστις/ὅτις (rare in restrictive use, mainly formal/legal; little case attraction)

ἐνάντιον τοῦ σιγιλλίου τῆς ἐλευθέρας χρυσοβούλλης οὗτινος ἐποιήσεν αὐτοῖς ὁ μακαριώτατος κόμης Ῥογέριος   1171, Sicily, Cusa 1868/82: Coll. IX: 21, 422.14

πᾶς ὅστις ἐτύγχανεν εἰς τὴν χαρὰν ἐκείνην   13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G IV.836

τὰς παρούσας γραφὰς αἵτινες ἀνάγονται εἰς τὴν ἀντίληψίν σου

1487, Chios, Lefort 1981: 12, 71.3–4

περὶ τῶν βελανιδίων ἅτινα ὑπῆρχον ἀγορασμένα μὲ σολδία τοῦ εἰρημένου Σβηροῦ   1606, Nauplion, Brouskari 1982: 1, 174.16

ὅσπερ (formal/legal and literary; case attraction to antecedent when there is conflict)

τῶν δυσχερῶν ἀπάλλαξον σοφῶν μηχανημάτων ὧνπερ κατεῖπον ἄνωθεν

14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 661–2

εἰς τὸ τῆς Καλαμαρίας θέμα περὶ τὴν τοποθεσίαν ἥπερ οὕτω πως τοῦ Διαβολοκάμπου ἐπονομάζεται   1324, Thessaloniki, Lefort et al. 1994: 80, 284.3

διὰ νὰ ἀπανταίνη τοὺς πολλοὺς κόλπους οὕσπερ ἐκρούαν

15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 10306

τὸν τόπον ὅνπερ εἴχασιν συνήθως τὸ νὰ βλέπουν

16th c./14th c., [Andr. Palaiol.], *Kallim.* 1239

ἐπανέστρεψα εἰς τὴν Πάτραν ... ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπερβάλλοντος τῆς θαλάσσης κακοῦ οὕπερ καθ' ὁδὸν ἡμᾶς συνήντησεν   16th c./15th c., Sfrantzis, *Chron.* 146.15

περὶ τὴν ὑπόθ(ε)σιν τ(οῦ) ὁσπιτ(ίου) οὕπερ ἔχει διαφορ(ὰν) μὲ τ(ὸν) κυρ Δημήτρ(ιον)   1479, Corfu, Karydis 2001: 11, 47.7

τῆς ἀγάπης ἥσπερ διὰ τὴν τῶν εὐσεβῶν εὐφροσύνην καὶ παραμυθίαν ... ἐπόνησα

17th c., Ioakeim Kypr., *Pali* Prol. 53

ὅπερ/ἅπερ without Article (vernacular, gender-indifferent)

προστάσσω ... ἵνα μὴ ἔχῃς ἐξουσίαν εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην μονὴν ..., μηδὲ εἰς τὰ μετόχια αὐτῆς ἅπερ διεκρατήσα   1102, S. Italy, Robinson 1929: 16, 210.38–40

ἡμέτερον ἐρημοάμπελον ἅπερ ἔχομεν   1201, S. Italy, Trinchera 1865: 253, 344.15

τί ἔνι τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὅπερ λέγεις;

1337/8, Constantinople, Hunger et al. 1995: 109, 92.57–8

εὐχαριστᾷ τον διὰ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ ἔπαινος ἅπερ τοῦ ἐμαρτύρα

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1888–9

ἐνταῦτα ηὕρασιν ἐκεῖ ἐγγράφως τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὅπερ γράφει λεπτομερῶς, ... τὸ πῶς ὁ λίζιος ἄνθρωπος χρεωστεῖ ποιῆσαι τοῦτο   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7569–71

οὐδὲ τὴν τολμηρὴν καρδίαν, τὴν τόλμην ὅπερ εἶχεν

15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* VI.31,5 (Olsen)

τὰ σεντούκια, ὅπερ μὲ ἀπέστειλες   16th c., *Diig. Alex.* E 155.21 (Lolos)

εἶδα τὰς γραφὰς ἅπερ ἔστειλες τοῦ κὺρ Μανόλη Μυτιληναίου

1567, Venice, Patrinelis 1992: 5, 305.3

ὅπερ/ἅπερ with Article (rare, mainly early S. Italian; legal/formal)

τὴν ἀλλαγὴν τὴν ἅπερ ἔχω μὲ τὸν καθ(η)γούμ(ενον) κύ(ρ) Κλήμ(εντα)

1060–1, S. Italy, Guillou 1967: 4, 58.18

ἅπασαν τὴν ἐμὴν ὑπόστ(ασιν) τὴν ἅπερ κτῶμ(αι) εἰς χωρίον Κουρτζάνου

1155, S. Italy, Mercati et al. 1980: 25, 148.5

τὴν φυτί(αν) τὴν ἅπερ ἔχω εἰς ἐνφύτευσιν ἐκ τὸν Νικηφόρον Τητάν(η)

1197–8, S. Italy, Mercati et al. 1980: 42, 217.13

ἐπούλησα τὸ χωράφι τὸ ὅπερ εἶχα   1552, Athens, Kambouroglou 1889: 179.3

τὴν διαφορὰν τὴν ὅπερ ἔχουν   1569, Kefalonia, Zapandi 1999: 28, 394.5

NOTES

(i)   In relative clauses containing a verb form marked with νά (often equivalent to English infinitival relatives of the type *someone to do something*), it is common for the relative marker to be omitted; νά always then stands initially:

ἀφότου ὀρέγεται (ὁ πρίγκιπας) νὰ ποιήσουσιν ἀγάπην νὰ ἔνι στερέα κι ἀδόλιευτος   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8695–6

δὲν εἶναι τώρα κανένας νὰ κατοικῇ οὔτε εἰς τὴν Βασιλείαν τῶν Οὐρανῶν οὔτε εἰς τὴν Κόλασιν   16th c., Papa-Lavr., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 111.2–3

γιατί ... δὲ βρίσκεται θεριὸ μηδεκιανένα νὰ μηδὲν κλάψῃ ἀπὸ καρδιᾶς περίσσα λυπημένα   17th c./16th c., Chortatsis, *Panor.* I.63–4

ἀκομή <u>τὰ χωράφια</u> τσῆ Μονολέας <u>νὰ πᾶσι</u> ὡς τὸ Μόλο, μουζούρια ι΄
                    1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 779, 677.37

(ii) When the antecedent NP contains an overt universal quantifier (= "all", "every" etc.), ὅσος "as much/many as" may be substituted as the relative pronoun; ὅσος naturally imparts a quantified meaning to the antecedent even in the absence of a univeral quantifier ("the X as much as … " = "all (of) the X that … "):

<u>πάντα ὅσα</u> ἔδωκεν ὁ ἀγοραστὴς νὰ τὰ χάσῃ   15th c./?13th c., *Assizes* B 292.2

νὰ τοὺς ἔχῃς πληρώσει <u>τὴν ρόγαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν</u> <u>ὅσην</u> χρεωστεῖ νὰ ἔχουν
                  14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5165-6

<u>οἱ ἄρχοντες ὅσοι</u> ἔχουσιν τιμάρια   1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.24

ἀλίμονον, Ροδίτες μου, καλὰ παλικαράκια, καὶ <u>ξένοι ὅσοι</u> ἐχάθητε, Ρωμαῖοι καὶ Φραγκάκια   16th c./15th c., LIMEN., *Than. Rod.* 38-9

ἔδωσε πρὸς αὐτὸν <u>ὅλον</u> τὸν τόπ(ον) τὸν ἄδειον ὅσος ἠβρίσκετ(αι) ἔσωθεν τῶν <u>ἀμπελ(ίων)</u>   1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 48, 39.4

(iii) The relative ὅποιος "whoever", normally used in headless relatives (see Rule (80)), is sometimes used in the same way as ὅσος:

χαρά 'ς <u>τσι ὅποιοι</u> δάκρυα χύσου γιὰ τὴ Μαρία
                  16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 3966

(iv) Relative elements such as ὅσος "(as much) as" and οἷος "(of such a kind) as" are used with demonstrative partners to make "correlative" comparisons of the type "so much … as … ", "of such a kind … as … "; in the former case, the elements are often reversed ("as much as/to the extent that X …, this much/to that extent Y"):

τόσος/ὅσος

<u>ὅσον</u> εἶναι <u>πλείονες καὶ ἐλαφρότεροι</u>, … <u>τόσον</u> θέλει εἶσθαι κάλλιον
                  1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.1-3

<u>ὅσον</u> ἔναι <u>ψηλότερος</u>, <u>τόσον</u> τὸν τάσσει ὀλίγα   16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 82

τέτοιος/οἷος

<u>χαρὰν</u> ποτέ, <u>ἀγάπην ἢ φιλίαν</u>, μὲ ἄνθρωπον οὐ μὴ ἀποκτήσω <ἐγώ> <u>τέτοιαν οἵαν</u> μετ' ἐσένα   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 4266

οὕτως <u>τὸν</u> εὑρήκασι <u>τίτοιον οἷον</u> ἠθέλαν   15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 2697

(79) A relative clause may be used as a non-restrictive (appositive) modifier to add relevant information that is not specifically intended to help the hearer/reader identify the referent.

Such relative clauses are normally demarcated by a pause (reflected in writing by the use of a comma) and contain one of the relative markers also used in restrictive relative clauses (see Rule (78)); they may be used to modify NPs or complete sentences, in which case we may understand a vague antecedent, as in *the students, who (by the way) had*

worked hard, left early; she passed first time, (something) which gave her family great pleasure.

The most common relative markers/pronouns in non-restrictive relative clauses are ὅπου/πού (regular) and (ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος (more formal/literary), though all options are in principle available, including the absence of any overt relativizing element in clauses containing verb forms marked with νά; (ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος is the regular choice as object of a preposition, or when cases other than nominative and accusative are required.

Non-restrictive relative clauses introduced by ὅπου/πού and other indeclinable elements may include a resumptive object clitic pronoun in the relativized position, referring back to the antecedent and agreeing with it in number and gender (of the form *the man, that I saw him, …*); this is regular when the relative clause modifies a sentence. This option also occurs, albeit more rarely, with (ὁ) (ὁ)ποῖος, mainly in later texts.

Modifying a NP

πουλῶντα τὸ ἡμέτερον ἀμπέλιον, τὸ ὄντα καὶ διακείμενον εἰς χωρίον Καλαβρόν, <u>τὸ ἄπερ</u> ἔχομεν ἐκ τὸν ἐμὸν πεθερόν   1179, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 193, 254.7-10

ὡς εἴδασιν παράνομα, <u>τὰ ποῖα</u> οὐδὲν ἐλπίζαν, εἰς θλίψιν ἐσεβήκασιν καὶ κάθουνται καὶ κλαίουν   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 88-9

ἐγὼ εἶμαι ὁ Χρόνος, ἀδελφέ, <u>τὸν</u> ὑποτάσσει ἡ Τύχη
                14th c./13th-14th c., *Log. parig.* L 106

συναπαντῶ πραγματευτὴν … ἄλογα <u>νὰ ἔχῃ</u> περισσὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπους μετ' ἐκεῖνον καὶ γραίαν γυναῖκα, … <u>νὰ κάθεται</u> εἰς καμήλιν   15th c./13th-14th c., *Liv.* V 2314-16

στὸν χρόνο ἐκεῖνον καὶ καιρόν, <u>ὅπου</u> σὲ ἀφηγήθην ἐδῶ … ὅταν ὁ δούκας Ἀθηνῶν … εὗρεν ὅτι ὁ πρίγκιπας ἐκεῖνος ὁ Γυλιάμος ἐπιάστη … καὶ ἦτον εἰς τὴν Πόλιν, <u>ἄπερ</u> τὸν ἐκράτει ὁ βασιλέας εἰς φυλακήν του   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7964-9

ἔποικαν ἀμφότεροι τὸ ἀντρόγυνον ἐκεῖνο υἱόν, … <u>ὅστις</u> γὰρ μετὰ τὴν θανὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ πατρός του ἔζησεν   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7974-7

ἀπεράσαμεν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, <u>ὅπου</u> ὁ Τοῦρκος ἀκόμα δὲν <u>τὴν</u> εἶχε
             19th c./15th-16th c., *Chron. Theod.* 20.4-5

ἐπαρακάλεσέ μας νὰ κάμωμεν τὴν παροῦσαν αὐτῆς διαθήκην καὶ τελευταίαν παραγγελίαν, <u>μὲ τὴν ὁποίαν</u> κόφτει καὶ ἀφανίζει κάθε ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλες ποὺ ἔχει παρέμπροσθεν ταύτης γινωμένες   1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.9

εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἦσαν δυο δένδρα, <u>ὅπου τὰ</u> λέγουν ἐμπρίονοι εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν γλώσσαν   16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.19-20

ἐγώ, <u>π'</u> ἀκόμη τίβοτας δὲν εἶχα φαγωμένα, ἀγάλι ἀγάλι ἐσάλευγα μὲ χείλη πρικαμένα
          17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* III.67-8

ἐδιάβη καταπάνω τοῦ Ἀλεξάντρου ἀφεντὸς τῆς Ἀρμενίας, χριστιανόν, <u>τὸν ὁποῖον τὸν</u> ἐλέγασι καὶ Σκεντέρη   17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.22-4

ἐξῆλθε διὰ νὰ κυνηγήσῃ μὲ τοὺς συνηθισμένους του καβαλάρους, <u>ἀπὸ τοὺς ὁποίους</u> ἦτον ἕνας καὶ ἐτοῦτος ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνδρας   17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 39.29-31

τῇ γραφῇ τῆς ἐκλαμπρότητός σου ἐλάβαμε ..., <u>τὴν ὁποία</u> ἐδιαβάσαμε <u>τηνε</u>, ὡς
ἔπρεπε, τοῦ δεσπότη καὶ ὁλονοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ   1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 305.5

Modifying a Sentence

ἡ νύκτα ἐκαλοφόρεσεν, <u>τὸ</u> δὲν ἐποῖκεν [ἡ] ἄλλη   16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 342

ἐξαίφνης ἐδιάβη, <u>ὁποῦ</u> δὲν <u>τὸ</u> ὠλπίζανε   17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.2

οἱ σαΐττες καὶ τὰ τόξα τοῦ θανάτου εἶν' πολλὰ καὶ καιρὸν δὲν διορίζουν, <u>ποὺ τὸ</u>
ξεύρομεν καλά   17th c., *Charon* II 13–14

**(80) "Headless" relative clauses, i.e. those lacking an overt antecedent, normally
have a generic/universal meaning ("whoever/whatever" or "any/every X
that"); they are introduced by ὅπου/ὁποῦ/ποῦ or by relative pronouns/
specifiers with an inherently generic/universal sense, namely ὅσος (cf. Rule
(78) NOTE (ii)) and ὅποιος/ὅ,τι.**

By contrast, forms of the definite article are regularly used with a *specific* meaning in head-
less relatives = "the (specific) X that".

In the absence of an antecedent NP the relative marker combines the functions of both
antecedent (in the main clause) and relativizer (in the relative clause), leading potentially
to conflicting case assignments for inflected forms; when this occurs, the case require-
ments of the relative clause typically predominate (examples are italicized below, though
nominative/accusative clashes involving neuters are, of course, "invisible").

Some relative elements used in headless relatives can also be used as specifiers, as in
[*whichever book he read*] *was soon forgotten*. NPs with relative specifiers similarly fulfil
two grammatical functions, and the requirements of the relative clause again predominate
in the event of case conflict.

Article (definite/specific)

τοῦτο ψευδὲς ἐνόμιζον ..., <u>τὸ λέγουσιν οἱ χωρικοὶ</u> καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ δημώδης
    13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 18–19

λέγω <u>τὰ οὐκ ἐνδέχονται</u> καὶ <u>τὰ με οὐδὲν ἁρμόζουν</u>; 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 294

οὐ θέλουσιν ὑπόθησιν <u>τοὺς ἔχω μετ' ἐμέναν</u>;   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* II 32

<u>τὴν ἤθελες καὶ ὠρέγου νὰ κερδήσης</u>, ... νὰ τὴν ἰδῇς μετὰ θ(εὸ)ν εἰς ὀλιγὰς ἡμέρας
    ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.1v.7–14

<u>τὴν ἐκρατοῦμεν ἄγαμον</u> εὑρέθη ἐγγαστρωμένη   13th–14th c./?, *Paroim.* D 119

περὶ νὰ ὑπᾶμε εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, <u>τὰ οὐκ ἔχομεν γυρεύει</u>, ἐνταῦτα στρέμμα ἃς
ποιήσωμεν ἀπέσω εἰς τὴν Πόλιν   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 837–8

τί ἔναι, σκύλε, <u>τὰ λαλεῖς</u>, τί ἐν <u>τὸ τζαμπουνίζεις</u>;
    15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 199 app. crit. (CLA)

γυνή τις γραῦς ὑπόσχεται νὰ δώσῃ ... καὶ κουφισμὸν <u>εἰς τὸ πονεῖς</u> καὶ λύσιν <u>εἰς τὸ</u>
<u>πάσχεις</u>   16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1108–9

<u>τὸν ἀγαπᾶς</u> εὑρέθηκεν, ἀνέστη <u>τὸν ἐξεύρεις</u>
    16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1686

τὸν κόσμον νὰ λυτρώνουμουν <u>παρὰ τὰ βλέπω τώρα</u>   16th c./14th c., *Byz. Il.* 262

ἄμποτε <u>τὸ μᾶς ἔταξαν</u> νὰ τὸ φυλάξωσι τελείως   1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 285.20

<u>τὰ 'ρίζεις προσκυνῶ</u> καὶ θέλω νὰ τὰ ποίσω   16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Thrinos* 119

<u>ἀπὸ τὸ μου λαλεῖτε</u>, πῶς ἐπῆγα εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τῆς ἀφεντίας της
    16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 60, 62.18

<u>τὸ ζητᾷ γιὰ γιατρικόν</u>, ἐκεῖνο τόνε βλάφτει   18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.6

ὅπου/ὁποῦ

<u>ὅπου θέλει νὰ ἐλθῇ</u> ἃς ἔλθῃ μετὰ μέναν   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 554

ηὕρασιν ὅτι εἶχαν πλέον κερδίσει <u>παρὰ ὅπου εἶχαν στὰ κάτεργα</u>
    14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 650–1

μὰ νὰ 'ναι ἀσυγχώρετος <u>ὁποῦ θὲ σὲ πατάξει</u>   15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 206

<u>ὁποῦ ἔχει πολὺν πιπέρι</u> βάνει καὶ 's τὰ λάχανα   16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 32

καλότυχος <u>ποῦ μεριμνᾷ πάντα τὸν θάνατόν του</u>
    17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1345

<u>ὁποῦ θυμᾶται θάνατον</u>, ἐκεῖνος κυριεύει   17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1349

ὅσος (used as both pronoun and specifier)

<u>ἀπὸ ὅσοι ἐναπέμειναν</u> ἀπ' αὗτους, ... ἀεννάως τοὺς ἔπαιρνεν μετ' αὐτόν
    14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7209–11

ὁρκῶ σε κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ..., ἐσὲν κι <u>ὅσοι καθέζονται μετὰ σὲ ἐδῶ εἰς τὴν κούρτην</u>
    14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7543–4

ὥσπερ ἔναι ἡ συνήθεια νὰ πιάσει τὴν λεχώναν καὶ νὰ κάμει <u>ὅσα εἶναι τῆς φύσεως</u>
<u>τῶν γυναικῶν</u>   16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.34–5

τὸν ποιητὴν πάσης κτίσεως καὶ ἐλευθερωτὴν τῶν ψυχῶν πάντων τῶν ὀρθοδόξων
χριστιανῶν καὶ <u>ὅσοι πιστεύσουν εἰς αὐτόν</u>
    16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 331.14–15

γι' αὗτος λολοί 'ναι <u>ὅσοι θαρροῦ ... νὰ κάμουσι τὴ χέρα μου νὰ μὴ μπορᾷ</u>
<u>τελειώσει</u>   17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* Prol. 34

<u>ὅσοι Ῥωμιότουρκοι ἐγροίκησαν τὸν ἀβγαμὸ μου</u> παρευθὺς ἔτρεξαν σιμά μου
    1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 2, 27.13

<u>ὅσα παιδιά 'ναι διαλεκτὰ</u> εἰς μιὰ μεριά 's τὰ βάνη   17th c., KONDAR., *Paides* 171

ὅποιος/ὅ,τι (used as both pronoun and specifier)

ἀπὸ τοὺς μῆνας δώδεκα νὰ ἐπαίρνη <u>ὁποίους θέλει</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2004

<u>ὅ,τι ηὗραν πράγματα ἐκεῖ</u> ἐδιαγούμισάν τα   15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1306

<u>ὁποία ἀπ' ἐσᾶς βάλη ἀρχὴν νὰ μὲ δείρη</u> ἔναι ἡ μεγαλύτερη πολιτικὴ καὶ πουτάνα
τοῦ κόσμου   15th–16th c./?15th c., *Vios Aisop.* E 292.34

<u>ὅποιαν βλέπη νὰ δειλιᾷ</u> δίδει παρηγορία   15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* I.90,8 (Follieri)

<u>ὅποιον σου δείξω</u> σκότωσε   16th c./15th c., PIKAT., *Rima thrin.* 383

<u>ὅποιος αὐτὰ ὀρέγεται</u> δουλώνεται καθόλου   16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 111

ὁποιά εὑρεθῇ, νὰ τὴν ξορίζουν ἔξω τῆς χώρας!   16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 178.6

εἰς ὥραν ὑπανδρείας αὐτῆς <u>ὅ,τι τὼς φανῇ νὰ τῆς δώσουν διὰ προικίον</u> νὰ τῆς
δίδουν ἀπ' αὐτά, καὶ <u>ὅ,τι τῶν φανῇ νὰ πουλήσουν</u> νὰ τὰ κάνουν στάμενα
1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 120, 217.26

κάμε <u>ὅ,τι θές</u>   17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* III.267

ἀκόμη ἀφήνει τῆς Καντιῶς <u>ὅ,τι μερτικὸ τοῦ ἐγγίζει</u> στὸ χωράφι τῆς Κουκουβάγιας
1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 9, 311.22

εἰς <u>ὅποιον τόπον ἐσεῖς θέλετε ὑπάγει</u>, εὑρίσκει σας   17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 11–12

<u>ὅποιος ἀγαπᾶ ἐμένα ζῶντ(ας) μου</u>, ἕνα τους παρακαλῶ ν' ἀγαποῦσι τὴν μάνα μου
καὶ τὰ παιδιά μου δέκα   1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.144–5

νὰ εἶναι διαλέγονας ὁ Μανώλης νὰ παίρνη <u>ὅποια πάρτην θέλει</u>
1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 257, 449.23

6   Prepositions and Prepositional Phrases

6.1   Simple Prepositional Phrases

**(81) LMedG/EMG prepositions normally govern an accusative NP to form
a Prepositional Phrase (PP); clitic (personal) pronouns are sometimes
permitted in the earliest texts (e.g. ἀνταπεκρίνατο <u>πρός με</u> ὁ ὑποψήφιος
(?1144, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 313.4)), but full forms are normally
preferred thereafter (e.g. οὐδὲν εὑρίσκω <u>εἰς ἐμέν</u> Chron. Mor. H 948).**

The array of prepositions that appear routinely in LMedG/EMG (ἀπό, διά/γιά, εἰς/σέ, μέ,
παρά = "(rather/other) than", πρός) is significantly smaller than that of AG. But other
prepositions are found in older texts and archaizing, legal or official registers, as well as
in many formulaic phrases, many of which have ecclesiastical origins (e.g. ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ
Θεοῦ, etc.); in these cases prepositions that in AG governed the genitive or dative often
continue to do so, though substitution of the accusative is also possible.

6.1.1   Frequently Occurring Prepositions + Accusative

ἀπό

For the use of ἀπό in partitive constructions (e.g. ἕνας <u>ἀπὸ ἐκείνους</u> ... ἀνέβηκε 18th c.,
EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 18.19–22), see 5.2.2, Rule (73) NOTE (ii). Other principal uses
are: "from"(spatial/metaphorical), "via/through", "than", "by/with" (agent/instrument),
"after".

ἂν μισεύσειν βούλεσαι <u>ἀπὸ τὴν Ρωμανίαν</u>   15th c./12th c., *Dig.* E 344

τὸ πέραμα νὰ ποιήσουσιν <u>ἀπὸ τὴν Βενετίαν</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H. 310

σκάνταλον μέγα ἐγίνετον <u>ἀπὸ τοὺς Βενετίκους</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H. 408

ὡσὰν ἐπιάστη πρότερον <u>ἀπὸ τοὺς Βενετίκους</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H. 865

περιεπάτει, ἐχαίρετον <u>ἀπὸ ὅλον τὸ πριγκιπᾶτο</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H. 3041

σκοπᾶτε τὰ τέλη τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ <u>ἀπὸ τὸ τέλος</u> τὴν ἀρχήν
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 10.13–14

γιατὶ καλλιὰ δὲν εἶν' ὁ γεῖς τίβοτσι <u>ἀπού τὸν ἄλλο</u>
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* II.22

<u>ἀπ' εὐτυχιὲς</u> πληθαίνει (ὁ τόπος)   17th–18th c./17th c., *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 71

ἐκεῖνοι οἱ πανάπιστοι ... ὀργισθήκασι περίσσα καὶ ἀφρίζασι <u>ἀπὸ λύσσα</u> ἐκδίκησης
18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 16.22–4

διά/γιά

"for/on behalf of", "for (the purpose of)/as"

ὑπαγαίνασιν ἐκεῖ κ' ἐκατοικοῦσαν, οἱ μὲν <u>διὰ τὸ προσκύνημα</u> καὶ ἄλλοι <u>διὰ τὴν δόξαν</u>
<div align="right">14th c., Chron. Mor. H. 120–1</div>

ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη ὁ Χριστὸς <u>διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τὸ γένος</u>   14th c., Chron. Mor. H. 305

ἔπαρ' ἐκ τὰ φαρία μας νὰ ἔχῃς <u>γιὰ τιμή σου</u>   16th c., Imb. Rim. 237

πολλοὺς ἐπίασεν ζωντανοὺς καὶ ἤθελε νὰν τους ἐξηβάλῃ εἰς τὸν κόσμον <u>διὰ θαῦμα</u>
<div align="right">16th c., Diig. Alex. F 24.6–7 (Konstantinopulos)</div>

κατέχεις ... τὸ πῶς σ' ἐκράτου πάντα μου <u>ὡς γιὰ δασκάλισσά μου</u>
<div align="right">17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, Katz. II.355–6</div>

ἐκλελεμένος ... <u>διὰ ἀσιστέντες</u>   1687, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2005a: 1, 368.2

δὲν ἐκράτηξε (πουρκί) καὶ <u>διὰ τὰ ἄλλα τῆς παιδία τὰ δύο</u> ... ˙ ... τὴν ἐπῆρε <u>διὰ</u>
<u>γυναῖκαν του</u>   1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.7–11

εἰς/σέ

"at/to, on/onto, in/into" (spatial/metaphorical), "for (the purpose of)", "because of"

ἐζήτησαν ὁ λαὸς χωράφια <u>εἰς τὸ σπέρνειν καὶ ζῆν</u>
<div align="right">?1130–40, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 533.12</div>

δέδωκέν μοι ἓν οἴκημα <u>εἰς θεώρετρον</u> ἐν τῇ πόλει Μεσσήνη
<div align="right">1171, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VII: 4, 363.9</div>

μόνον προθύμως ἔξελθε <u>εἰς τοῦ ἀμιρᾶ τὴν τόλμην</u>   15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 7

ὥραν πολλὴν ἐποίσασιν καὶ <u>εἰς λογισμοὺς ἐμπῆκαν</u>   15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 75

ἀπὲ τοῦ νῦν οὐ πρέπει μας νὰ εἴμεσθεν <u>εἰς τὸν κόσμον</u>   15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 95

<u>στὸν χρόνο ἐκεῖνον καὶ καιρόν</u>, ὅπου σὲ ἀφηγήθην ἐδῶ   14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7964

καὶ τ' ἄλλα πάντα θαυμαστούς, γενναίους <u>εἰς ἀνδρείαν</u>
<div align="right">16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 30</div>

ἠπῆρεν τους, ἐπέβηκεν 'ς τὸ κάτεργον ἀτή της˙ ἐδιέβηκε <u>εἰς τὴν Φράγκιαν</u> τοῦ ρήγαν
Ἰταλίας
<div align="right">15th c., Chron. Toc. 19–20</div>

ἄρχισεν ἐξέβαινεν ἔξω ἐκ τὰ νησία, ἀμέριμνα καὶ ἄφοβα, ὥσπερ <u>εἰς τὰ νησία</u>
<div align="right">15th c., Chron. Toc. 155–6</div>

ἔθεσαν αὐτὸν <u>εἰς τὴν ἀναγεγραμμένη μονὴ εἰς ὕμνον καὶ δόξα</u> τοῦ παντοδυνάμου
Θεοῦ   1558, Corfu, KONDOYANNIS/KARYDIS 1994: 2, 649.11

ὁ δὲ ἀγαθός ἄνδρας ἐκεῖνος ... ἐκατενύγηκεν <u>εἰς τὴν ψυχήν</u>
<div align="right">17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas. 41.3–4</div>

μέ

"with", "by (means of)"

ὃ ἐκατήλλαξα <u>μὲ τὸ σύντεκνόν μου</u> τὸν Μιχαὴλ
<div align="right">ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.24</div>

ὅταν ἐσυμβιβάστηκα <u>μὲ τὸν ἐχτρὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ</u>   14th c., Chron. Mor. H 5722

<u>μὲ τὸν μακαρίτην τὸν αὐθέντην τὸν πατέρα τους</u> ἐσυντύχαμεν περὶ τούτου
<div align="right">1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.11–12</div>

καὶ λαλοῦν πῶς ὁ κούντη τε Ρουχᾶς ἔνε εἰς μεγάλην ἀγάπην <u>μὲ τὴν κυράν μας τὴν</u>
<u>ρήγαινα</u>   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 220.34–6

ἔστοντας νὰ ἐπάρουσι τὸ Σάλονα <u>μὲ προδοσία ἑνὸς Σαλονίτου</u>, ... ἐπεράσασι ...
ξεπλερώνοντας ... τὸ γαῖμα τῶν συντρόφων, ποὺ <u>μὲ πόλεμο καλὸ</u> χύθηκε στὸ
Γαλαξείδι   18th c., EFTHYM., Chron. Gal. 16.24–17.6

ἕνας ἀπὸ ἐκείνους ... ἀνέβηκε <u>μὲ μία σκάλα</u> νὰ τὸ (καντῆλι) ἐξεκρεμάσῃ
<div align="right">18th c., EFTHYM., Chron. Gal. 18.19–23</div>

παρά

"beyond" (metaphorical), "(more) than" (with a comparative adjective/adverb), "other/
rather than", "instead of", "but for/except for" (= "only" in combination with a preceding
negative, cf. "nothing but (for) X" = "only X"): περί is sometimes substituted

μὴ φοβηθῆς τὸν θάνατον <u>παρὰ μητρὸς κατάραν</u>   15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 2

Φιλοπαππού, γνωρίζεις με <u>παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους</u> πλέον   15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 1385

λεπτομερῶς τοὺς ἔδειξεν τὴν στράταν τῆς Πολέου, τὸ πῶς ἔνι διαφορικὴ πλέον <u>παρὰ</u>
<u>(sc. ἐκείνην) τῆς Συρίας</u>   14th c., Chron. Mor. H 505–6

ὅστις ἦτον μακρύτερα <u>παρὰ γὰρ τὸν Δεσπότην</u>   14th c., Chron. Mor. H 3623

ἄλλα πλεῖστα καὶ πλειότερα <u>παρὰ ἐκεῖνα</u> ὅπου του ἐδῶκεν
<div align="right">14th c., Chron. Mor. H 4626</div>

ὅσα <u>παρὰ τὴν δύναμιν</u>   16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 1560

πλέον <u>περὶ ἄλλες Ἀμαζόνες</u> αὐτὲς εἶχαν τὴν χάριν
<div align="right">15th–16th c./15th c., Theseid I.57,8 (Follieri)</div>

τὰ ἄλογα δὲν εἶχα νὰ φᾶν <u>παρὰ τὰ κιτρομηλόφυλλα</u>
<div align="right">16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 110.10–11</div>

δὲν θέλετε τῶς πάρει <u>παρὰ 5 τὰ ἑκατό</u>   1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.143

NOTES

(i) The meaning "but rather", though not a feature of SMG, did occur in earlier demotic
and is a natural development from "rather than", cf. "don't do X rather than Y"
> "don't do X but rather (do) Y", where the preposition has been reanalysed as a
conjunction. Μὴ φοβηθῆς τὸν θάνατον <u>παρὰ μητρὸς κατάραν</u> (Dig. E 2, cited above)
might therefore be read this way, though unambiguous examples of such reanalysis
are hard to find.

(ii) We may also note the potential for reanalysis of παρά in negative contexts as the
modifier of a numeral or quantifier, cf. MG δεν ἦρθε παρά ἕνας X, where the use of
the nominative excludes a prepositional analysis. Again, δὲν θέλετε τῶς πάρει <u>παρὰ</u>
<u>5 τὰ ἑκατό</u> (1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.143, cited above) might be
understood this way, but clearly does not have to be.

πρός
"to(wards)" (spatial/metaphorical), "in accordance with", "against" (spatial), "about (number)", "X (number/amount) each" (distributive)

ἀνταπεκρίνατο <u>πρός με</u> ὁ ὑποψήφιος   ?1144, Sicily, Cusa 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 313.4

ὦμον <u>πρός ὦμον</u> ἔθηκαν καί <u>πρός ἀλλήλους</u> λέγουν   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 780

ἐκείνη ἐκατεπήδησεν καί <u>πρός ἐμένα</u> ἦλθεν   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 1186

οἱ δύο κοντάδες τοῦ ἔδωκαν <u>πρός ἕναν καβαλλάρην</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 220

ὀμπρός ὀπίσω ἐξέβαιναν <u>πρός εἴκοσι καί τριάντα</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1063

τά ἔθνη γάρ τά ἀβάφτιστα, ὅρκον ἄν σέ ποιήσουν <u>πρός τά συνήθεια ὅπου ἔχουσιν</u>
          14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1249–50

ἦρτεν <u>πρός τήν ἀνατολήν</u>, καί ἦρτεν εἰς τήν Κύπρον, καί ἐπέζευσεν <u>πρός τήν</u>
   <u>Λεμεσόν</u> καί ηὖρεν τό νησσίν ἔρημον   16th c./15th c., Machairas, *Chron.* V 4.9–11

εἰς τό πλε(υ)ρόν τοῦ βημάτου <u>πρός τόν νότον</u> ἔχει λάκκον
          16th c./15th c., Machairas, *Chron.* V 38.17–18

6.1.2   Prepositions of More Limited Frequency

Included here are a number of inherited prepositions, which may take the same case as in AG, or alternatively take a different case (given in brackets), either as a result of hypercorrection or in accordance with vernacular practice.

ἀντί + gen.(/acc.)
"instead of"

ἀρκοῦν ἐμοί τά κάλλη τῆς <u>ἀντί πολλῶν προικίων</u>   13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G IV.747

<u>ἀντί πατρός καί ἀντί μητρός καί ἀντί ἀδελφούς καί φίλους</u> ἔχω ἐσένα σήμερον ἐδῶ
   εἰς τήν ξενιτείαν μου   14th–15th c./13th c., *Liv.* E 61–2

τάς ψυχάς ἀφήσωμεν <u>ἀντί λιθομαργάρων</u> 16th c./14th c., [Andr. Palaiol.], *Kallim.* 225

ὁ δέ τεχνίτης τόν χρυσόν εἰς δένδρον μεταπλάττει, <u>ἀντί καρπῶν</u> δέ τεχνικῶς ἐνέθηκεν
   τούς λίθους   16th c./14th c., [Andr. Palaiol.], *Kallim.* 317–18

βασιλεύς ἐστέφθηκα <u>ἀντί δέ τοῦ πατρός μου</u>   16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 53

ἀπό + gen.
"from" (often non-spatial), "by (means of)", "as a result of/after", "X (number/amount) each" (distributive)

κατά ἕνα τῶν ἀδελφῶν <u>ἀπό δύο ἱματίων</u> ἔχειν χρή
          12th c./11th c., Nikon, *Logos* 1 104.28–9

<u>ἀπό μανίας μου</u> ρίπτω τό ἀνταμοῦ μέ τό σκουτέλλιν   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 244

τότε νά ἰδῆς πόλεμον καλῶν παλληκαρίων καί <u>ἀπό τῆς μάχης τῆς πολλῆς</u> κρούσιν
   διασυντόμως
          15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 35–6

ἡμεῖς γάρ εὑρισκόμεθα <u>ἀπό γενεᾶς μεγάλης</u>   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 136

<u>ἀπό καρδίας</u> ἐστέναξεν, ἐκ βάθους τῆς ψυχῆς του   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 635

εἰς τόν μαρκέσην ἦλθασιν, γλυκέα τόν χαιρετοῦσιν ... <u>ἀπό τῶν λοιπῶν ὀλῶν τῶν</u>
   <u>πελεγρίνων</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 228–30

ἡ Πόλις ἐπιάστη <u>ἀπό σπαθίου</u>, ὡσάν σέ τό ἀφηγοῦμαι   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H. 550

νά στείλω ἐκεῖ φουσσᾶτα ... νά ὑπάγουν τῆς θαλάσσης κι ἀπαύτου πάλε <u>ἀπό τῆς</u>
   <u>γῆς</u> νά ὑπάγουν <u>τῆς στερέας</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4233–5

διά + acc.(/gen.)
"because of"

<u>διά τοῦ ἐλέους του</u> ὥρισεν τόν Κεραμέαν ὅ,τι ἔχει διά πρακτικοῦ
          ca. 1270, Athos, Bompaire 1964: 9A, 80.32

ἐλόγισεν, ὡς φρόνιμος, ὅτι ἀμαρτία ἤθελε εἶσται, <u>διά ἑνός ἀνθρώπου θάνατον</u> νά
   μείνῃ τό πασσάτζο   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 169–70

ἐγνωρίζω ὅτι <u>διά ἐμοῦ τήν ἀφορμήν</u> τό πολεμοῦν ἐκεῖνοι   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 283–4

<u>διά τά ἅγια λείψανα τά εὑρίσκουνται εἰς τήν Κύπρον</u>
          16th c./15th c., Machairas, *Chron.* O 24.6–7

<u>διά τοῦτο</u> γράφω ..., <u>διά τόν ἀπειθῆ λαόν</u>, ὁπού δέν βοηθᾷ τόν ἀρχιερέα αὐτοῦ
          1622, ?Karpathos, Zerlendis 1918d: B, 300.14–17

<u>διά τό αὐτόν πρᾶμα ὁπού εἶχεν</u> τήν ἐπῆρε διά γυναῖκαν του
          1688, Naxos, Sifoniou-Karapa et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.7–11

διά + gen.(/acc.)
"through(out)", "by means of"

<u>διά πολλῆς ταχύτητος</u> ἦλθον εἰς Ρωμανίαν. ... οἵ καί τούτῳ ἐδήλωσαν <u>διά</u>
   <u>γραμματηφόρου</u>   13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G II.100–3

τό δένδρον ... ποτέ οὐ καρπεύγει <u>διά τήν γῆν</u>   15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 145–7

<u>διά θαλάσσης καί ξηρᾶς</u> νά ὑπᾶσιν νά κουρσεύσουν   15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1.61

εὑρέθην <u>δι' ἀποκαλύψεως θεοῦ</u>   16th c./15th c., Machairas, *Chron.* V 34.1

ἐκ + gen.(/acc.)
"from/out of", "as a result of"; ἐκ μέρους = "on behalf of"

ὦ παναθλία, τί ἔπαθες <u>ἐκ τῆς παραδικίας</u>!   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 115

ἀπῆρεν δύο καβαλλαρίους ὅπου εἶχε <u>ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς του</u>· <u>ἐκ τήν Τσαμπάνια</u> ἐξέβηκεν
   κ' εἰς τήν Φιλάντριαν ἦλθεν   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 172–3

εἰς τόν μαρκέσην ἦλθασιν, γλυκέα τόν χαιρετοῦσιν <u>ἐκ μέρους</u> τῶν εὐγενικῶν ἐκείνων
   τῶν κοντάδων   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 228–9

μετά ταῦτα τοῦ ἐλάλησεν, <u>ἐκ στόματος</u> τοῦ εἶπεν   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 329

<u>ἐκ τόν πολύν του τόν δαρμόν</u>   15th c., *Peri xen.* 31

ὁ ἄνθρωπος ... πιάνει τον (ξύλινον θεόν) <u>ἐκ τούς πόδας</u> καί ρίπτει τον εἰς τήν γῆν·
   καί ὅταν ἐσυντρίφθη, <u>ἐκ τό κεφάλιν</u> ἔρευσε χρυσάφι
          16th c., Noukios, *Ais. Myth.* 109.5

ἐν + dat.(/acc.)

"in"; ἐν τούτῳ = "then/next"

πρόφθασον <u>ἐν ἀνάγκαις</u> νῦν, πρόφθασον <u>ἐν τῇ θλίψει</u>   15th c./?12th c., *Dig* E 1840

<u>ἐν τούτῳ</u>, ὡς ἠθέλησε Θεὸς νὰ γένη τὸ πασσάτζο   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 157

ὡς γὰρ ἐνστάζει χάριτας ἔρως <u>ἐν ἄλλοις πᾶσιν</u>, οὕτως <u>ἐν μόνῳ χωρισμῷ</u> γέμει
πολλὰς πικρίας   16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.*18–19

<u>ἐν δὲ τοὺς χρόνους καὶ καιροὺς ἐκείνους ὅπου ἀκούεις</u> οἱ Ἀλβανῖται ἀφέντευον τὸν
τόπον Δεσποτάτου   15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 44–5

ἐβουλεύτηκα <u>ἐν ὀνόματι</u> τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ <u>ἐν τριάδι</u> προσκυνουμένου, νὰ
ἐξηγηθῶ περὶ τῆς ἀκριβῆς χώρας Κύπρου. Ὡς χρόνοι εἶνε γ΄ <u>ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ</u>, …
ἦτζου εἶνε καὶ οἱ 'μέραι τῆς ζωῆς μας   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.1–5

ἐγράπτη <u>ἐν τῇ πόλει Λευκωσίᾳ</u> ιγ΄ δικεβρίου ͵ατξη΄ Χριστοῦ
          16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 222.5–6

ἐπί + acc. (sometimes for traditional genitive, e.g. ἐπὶ τούτον for ἐπὶ τούτου)

"to(wards)", "for (the purpose of)", "for (the duration of)"

ἀλλήλους ἐσυνέκοπτον <u>ἐπὶ πολλὰς τὰς ὥρας</u>   13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G I.179

κἀκεῖθεν μὲν ὑπέστρεφον πάντες <u>ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον</u>   13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G III.32

θροηθέντες ἀνέδραμον πάντες <u>ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος</u>   13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G III.94

ἀλλ' <u>ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον</u> ὁ λόγος ἀνακτέον   16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 23

οἱ Γενουβίσοι ἐποῖκαν ἕναν χαρτὶν νοταρικόν: " … ἔμπροσθεν ἐμοῦ … καὶ μαρτύρων
…, <u>ἐπὶ τούτον</u> κληθέντων καὶ παρακληθέντων … "
          16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 504.29–33

ἐπί + gen.

"(up)on", "during (the time of)"; ἐπὶ ὀνόματος = "in the name of"

ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκατεστάθησαν <u>ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν μας</u>   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 215

ἐλιγοθύμησε … καὶ πεσοῦσα <u>ἐπὶ γῆς</u> παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα
          15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 1864–5

<u>ἐπὶ τῆς αὔριου</u> γὰρ τὸ πρωΐ, … ἐδῶκαν τὰ σαλπίγγια τους
          14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1479–80

καθήμενος <u>ἐπὶ λαμπροῦ βασιλικοῦ τοῦ θρόνου</u>
          16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 695

εὐρέθη στρῶμα κείμενον <u>ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς</u> στρωμένον
          16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 798

ἡ ποία ἁγία … ἐποῖκεν καὶ 'κτίσαν πολλὲς ἐκκλησίες εἰς τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ <u>ἐπὶ</u>
<u>ὀνόματος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος</u>   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 4.23–6

ἐπί + dat.

"on (top of)/over" (non-spatial), "in (the case of)", "for (the purpose of)"

<u>ἐπὶ προδήλοις πράγμασιν</u> οὐ χρεία τῶν μαρτύρων   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 44

τοῦ κόρακος ἐπάνω μου τῆς στέγης <u>ἐπὶ κακῷ</u> καθίσαντος καὶ κράζειν ἀρξαμένου
          13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 46–7

<u>ἐπὶ θανάτῳ</u> θάνατον δέχεται καθ' ἑκάστην
          13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 113

ἡ μήτηρ εὐφραίνετο ἀληθῶς <u>ἐπὶ τέκνοις</u>
          13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G II.35

κατά + acc.

"according to", "through(out)/during": κατὰ τύχη(ν) = "by chance"

ὁ τέλει γὰρ χρησάμενος τοῦ βίου <u>κατὰ φύσιν</u>   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 102

ἃς εἶδες κἂν ἐνύπνιον <u>γλυκὺν κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον</u>!   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 168

ὁ υἱός μου νὰ ἔλθη μετ' ἐσᾶς <u>κατὰ τὲς συμφωνίες μας</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 700

ποῦ <u>κατὰ τύχη</u> ἀπέρχετον βάρκα ἀπὸ τὴν Πούλιαν   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2240

μὲ τὸ θέλημαν ὅλους τοὺς περίτου αὐθέντες … ὅπου εὑρίσκουνταν <u>κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν</u>
          16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 42.11–13

μία λοιμικὴ ἀσθένεια … ἔποικε ἐξολόθρεμα καὶ <u>κατὰ τὰ μέρη Σαλόνου</u>
          18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 20.1–4

κατά + gen.(/acc.)

"in front of" (spatial), "against" (metaphorical); κατὰ πρόσωπα = "in the face of"

θεωρεῖς ἐκείνους τοὺς ἀγρίους ὁρμῶντας οὕτω <u>κατὰ σοῦ</u>
          13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 173–4

τὸν ἰὸν ἐξέχεε <u>κατὰ τοῦ εὐεργέτου</u>   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 386

ἀνάθεμά με, βασιλεῦ, ὅταν στραφῶ καὶ ἰδῶ τον, τὸ πῶς ἀνακομβώνεται <u>κατὰ τῆς</u>
<u>μαγειρείας</u>   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 131–2

ἡ πόλις τῆς Τσάρας … ροβολεμένη εὑρίσκετον <u>κατὰ τῆς Βενετίας</u>
          14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 416–17

ὅποτε θελήσου νὰ ρεβελιάσουν <u>κατὰ μέναν</u>   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.10

ἂν σηκώση τὸ χέριν του <u>κατὰ πρόσωπα τοῦ ψουμάτου</u>
          16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 24.28–9

εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον περισσότερον ἐθυμώθηκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὠργίζετο <u>κατὰ τῶν μοναχῶν</u>
          17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 39.21–2

μετά + acc.

"after"

<u>μετὰ δὲ τὴν συνάφειαν</u> συνέλαβεν ἡ κόρη, καὶ ἔτεκε τὸν Διγενῆ Βασίλειον Ἀκρίτην
          13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G II.47–8

<u>μετὰ ταῦτα</u> τοῦ ἐλάλησεν, ἐκ στόματος τοῦ εἶπεν   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 329

μετὰ τὴν παραδρομὴν καὶ τοῦ τοσούτου τόπου εἰς κάστρον κατηντήσασιν μέγα
                     16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 173–4

μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ρὲ Οὔγκε ἑρμάστην μὲ τὸν Ρεῖμουν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ πρίντζη
                     16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 40.15–16

μετά + gen.(/acc.)
   "with"

λεπτῶς τὸν ἀφηγήσαντο τὴν πρᾶξιν καὶ τὸν βίον, κι ὅσα ἐκατεστήσασιν μετὰ τοὺς
   Βενετίκους   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 376–7

μετὰ βουλῆς καὶ ὁρισμοῦ κὺρ Σάκη τοῦ Βατάτση ἐστέψασιν διὰ βασιλέαν Ἀλέξιον
   τὸν υἱόν του   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 587–8

πρὸς τὸν τρίτον τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας μεταγαγεῖν ἐπείγετο μετὰ πολλοῦ
   τοῦ πόθου   16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 36–7

οἱ Βενετίκοι ... μὲ πονηρίαν, μὲ φρόνεσιν, μετὰ μεγάλης τέχνης, γιοφύρια ἐποίκασιν
   ἄνω εἰς τὰ καράβια   16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 540–2

μέχρι + gen.(/acc.)
   "as far as/until"

ἀπὸ γὰρ τὴν ἀνατολὴν μέχρι τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν δύσιν   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 1610

ἀνέταξεν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴν κρεμαμένην κόρην, μέχρι ποδῶν ἐκ κορυφῆς ὡς ἄκρων τῶν
   δακτύλων   16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 508–9

κοιμᾶται μέχρι δειλινοῦ βασιλικῶς ἡ κόρη 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2120

φαίνουνται μέχρι τὴν σήμμερον τὸ τειχόκαστρον καὶ οἱ θεμελοὶ τοὺς πύργους
                     16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 98.15–16

παρά + acc.(/gen.)
   "against/beside", "contrary to"; παρὰ καιρόν = "out of time, at the wrong time"

παρὰ καιρὸν ὑποπεσεῖν θανάτῳ κατεκρίθην   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 569

νὰ μὲ ὀνειδίζῃς ἄσκημα, ἀδίκως, παρὰ λόγου   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4175

παρὰ τὴν ρίζαν τοῦ δενδροῦ ἐκείνου καθημένη
                     16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1815

ὄφεις μεγάλοι, φοβεροὶ καὶ θῆρες παρὰ φύσιν
                     16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 190

νεκρὸς νὰ γένηται εὐθὺς παρὰ τῆς ὥρας 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2554

παρά + gen.
   "from/by" (an animate source)

τοιαῦτα πέπονθα δεινά, κρατάρχα στεφηφόρε, παρὰ μαχίμου γυναικὸς καὶ
   τρισαλιτηρίας   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 268–9

φωνὴ παρὰ τοῦ δράκοντος εἰς τὸν Ἀκρίτην ἦλθεν   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 1090

παρὰ σαλῶν καὶ ἄτακτων ἀνθρώπων ἐδιδάχθην   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 1565

τὸ τί ... νομεύεται παρὰ τοῦ Καμπανέση   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1909–10

περί + gen.(/acc.)
   "about/concerning" (non-spatial); περὶ πολλοῦ = "greatly"

ἡμᾶς δὲ κατηχίζουσιν περὶ φιλαργυρίας   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 407

ἃς σᾶς ἀφηγήσωμαι περὶ τὰς ἀμωρίας του   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 619

περὶ ἀπελάτων ἤκουσε εὐγενικῶν καὶ ἀνδρείων   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 624

οἱ Φράγκοι γὰρ ὡς ἔμαθαν περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 560

ἐβουλεύτηκα ... νὰ ἐξηγηθῶ περὶ τῆς ἀκριβῆς χώρας Κύπρου
                     16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 2.1–3

ἃς ποῦμεν καὶ περὶ τῶν κουμουνίου τῶν Γενουβίσων καὶ Βενετίκων
                     16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 198.31–2

ἀγάπα δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ νέους χαριτωμένους   16th c., *Imb. Rim.* 17

πρό + gen.
   "before" (spatial [early])/temporal/metaphorical); πρὸ καιροῦ = "before one's time",
πρὸ πάντων = "above all"

τοῦτο πρὸ πάντων ἄπιστον εἶχον καὶ φλυαρίαν   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 17

ὦ πάτερ, πάτερ βασιλεῦ, παῖδας ἀνάνδρους ἔχεις, ἂν πρὸ πολέμου τρέπωνται καὶ
   φεύγουσι πρὸ μάχης   16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 112–13

καλὸν μὲν οὖν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοῦτο πρὸ πάντων ἄλλων τὸ μὴ πεσεῖν εἰς μέριμναν
   ἐρωτικὴν τὸν νοῦ σου   16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1029–30

ἔναν εὑροῦσα πρὸ πυλῶν ἀπὸ τῶν παιδοπούλων, στήκει καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν
                     16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1070–1

πῶς ἐμαράνθη πρὸ καιροῦ ἀπὸ κλαθμοῦ καὶ πόνου
                     16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1591

τὰ κοντάρια στένουσιν πρὸ μάχης νὰ κινήσουν   16th c., *Imb. Rim.* 460

σύν + dat.(/gen.)
   "(together) with"

αὐτὸς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἥπτετο ἅμα σὺν τοῖς ἀγούροις   13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G II.300

ἐξῆλθον ἔξωθεν κἀγὼ θρηνῶν σὺν τοῖς ἑτέροις   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 218

τὸ κοράσιο ἐγέλασεν, μεγάλως τὸ ἀποδέχθην καὶ σὺν ἐκείνης τῆς χαρᾶς πάλιν γελᾷ
   ἡ κόρη   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 1120–1

οἱ καβαλλάροι σὺν αὐτῷ εὐτὺς ἐγονάτισαν   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5887

ἐδόκει γὰρ σὺν τῷ λευκῷ καὶ ρόδου χάριν ἔχειν
                     16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 816

ὑπέρ + acc.(/gen.)
   "above/beyond/past" (spatial [early]/metaphorical), "more than"

κἂν ὑπὲρ κέδρους ὑψωθῇ καὶ κορυφὰς ὀρέων   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 374

ἔχει ... καὶ τόλμην ὑπὲρ ἅπασαν καὶ γνώμην θηριώδην 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 1333–5

ἄνθρωπος ἦτο εὐγενικός, φρόνιμος ὑπὲρ μέτρου   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 161

ὅπου ἀπιστῆσαν εἰς ἐμὲν <u>ὑπὲρ φορῶν</u> γὰρ δύο 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5660

διατὶ ἦτον εὐγενικὸς κ' εἰς πλοῦτος <u>ὑπὲρ φύσιν</u> 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 6298

τὴν ἡδονὴν <u>ὑπὲρ τὸν λόγον</u> ἔχων 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 286

τὰς χάριτας <u>ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν Χαρίτων φύσιν</u>
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 810

κρατούμενοι ὁ εἷς <u>ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄλλου</u> εἰς πίστιν
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 260.10–11

ὑπὲρ + gen.
"for (the purpose of)", "on behalf of", "because of"

θανοῦσα ὄψεσθε μητέρα <u>ὑπὲρ τέκνου</u> 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G I.79

τοὺς μαρτυρήσαντες στερρῶς <u>ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ τοῦ λόγου</u> 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 288

κλίνειν ἔχω κεφαλὴν <u>ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς μου πρώτης</u> 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 290

αὐτὰς ψυχὰς προδώσωμεν, τὰ σώματά μας ὅλα <u>ὑπὲρ ἀγάπης ἀδελφοῦ</u>
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1355–6

ὑπό + acc.
"under/beneath" (rare/early)

δεῦρο <u>ὑπὸ σκιὰν</u> ἀπέλθωμεν <u>τοῦ δένδρου</u> 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G VI.775

μὴ γὰρ ἀπώσῃ με ... <u>ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν</u> προστρέχοντα μετὰ δακρύων <u>σκέπην</u>
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 9–10

ὑπό + gen.
"by" (agent/instrument); ὑπὸ χειρός (formulaic)

ὦν δὲ τὰ μέλη ἅπαντα ... γνωρισθῆναι <u>ὑπό τινος</u> μὴ δυνάμενα ὅλως
13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G I.229–30

πῶς κατεκόπης μεληδὸν <u>ὑπὸ χειρὸς</u> βαρβάρων; 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G I.239

ὡς <u>ὑπὸ βέλους</u> τὰς ψυχὰς ἐτρώθησαν τῷ κάλλει 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G VI.127

ἐστέφθην εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Νικόλαον <u>ὑπὸ χειρὸς τοῦ φρὲ Πιὲρ Τουμᾶς</u>
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 92.31–2

ἰδόντας ὁ Μπαγιαζίτης ὅτι νικᾶται <u>ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκθροῦ του</u>
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.23–4

χάριν + gen.
"for (the sake of)"; follows NP in AG

<u>χάριν αὐτοῦ</u> μὴ θλίβεσαι 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 313

εἰ προσεγγίσαι πώποτε τολμήσει τῷ πυλῶνι <u>χάριν μικρᾶς ἀνακωχῆς καὶ κουφισμοῦ</u>
<u>τῶν πόνων</u> 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 452–3

τίνα ζητεῖτε, ἄγουροι, <u>τίνος χάριν</u> θρηνεῖτε; 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G I.218

<u>τούτου χάριν</u> τὸν πόλεμον οὐδαμῶς ἐπησχύνθην 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G VI.752

τὸ ἕτερον (ἔχω ἀγοράν) ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρασκευᾶ καὶ τοῦ Παγκάλου καὶ Πετρώνα <u>χάριν</u>
<u>ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας</u> ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.26

ἃς δώσουν καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ὑπέρπυρον α' <u>χάριν κουρτζουβακίου</u>
ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.52

ὅθεν καὶ <u>χάριν τούτου</u> γράφοντες ἀναφέρομεν τῷ σῷ μεγίστῳ κράτει
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2274–5

χωρίς + gen.(/acc.)
"without"

γονεῖς ἀτέκνους καθιστᾷ, τέκνα <u>χωρὶς γονέων</u> 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 35

<u>χωρὶς θαλάσσης</u> πνίγεσαι, <u>χωρὶς πυρὸς</u> ἐξάπτεις 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 145

εἰ δὲ κἀκεῖνος τρέψει με, <u>χωρὶς λόγου παντοίου</u>, νὰ λήψεσθε τὴν ἀδελφὴν μηδὲν
ζημιωθέντες 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G I.122–3

οὐκ ἔκρινα τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς <u>χωρὶς ὅπλων</u> 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G VI.521

αὐτοὶ τὸν ἀπεκρίθησαν λόγια <u>χωρὶς ἔργον</u> 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1625

ὤμόσαν μερτικὸν θεληματικῶς, καὶ μερτικὸν <u>χωρὶς τὸ θέλημάν τους</u>
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 44.29–30

ἔμεινεν <u>χωρὶς βλάβην</u> ὡς γοιὸν ἦτον 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 68.16

θέλω ... τίποτας νὰ μὴν ποίσης <u>χωρὶς τοῦ θελημάτου μου</u> 16th c., *Imb. Rim.* 167–8

6.2   Phrases with a Governing Adverb

(82) **Local, temporal and comitative PPs headed by ἀπό/ἐκ, εἰς/ἐπί and μέ may be
governed by semantically appropriate adverbs; these combinations in part
replace the simple prepositions that were falling out of use (see above). The
adverbial element usually precedes the PP, though sometimes follows it.**

Such adverbs may also govern a genitive NP directly; clitic (personal) pronouns are regular
in this construction, and clitics also appear with certain other adverbs (for examples see
below).

6.2.1   Adverb Governing a PP (Headed by ἀπό/ἐκ, εἰς/ἐπί, μέ)

With ἀπό and ἐκ

(i) = "above"/"below" (with separation)

ὁ ἵδρος τους ἐξεβαίνεν <u>ἀπάνω ἀπ' τὰ λουρίκια</u> 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 41

ἡ λεγόμενη χώρα τῆς Ἰνδίας εὑρίσκεται <u>κάτω ἀπὸ τὴν Αἴγυπτον</u>
17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 30.21–2

(ii) = "outside"/"out of"

ἄρχισεν ἐξεβαίνεν <u>ἔξω ἐκ τὰ νησία</u>, ἀμέριμνα καὶ ἄφοβα, ὥσπερ εἰς τὰ νησία
15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 155–6

τοῦ ὁποίου δίδει ἀουτοριτάν ... ὅτι νὰ ἠμπορῇ νὰ τήνε ντεφεντέρῃ ... καὶ <u>ὄξω</u>
<u>ἀποὺ τὴν κούρτην</u> εἰς πᾶσα κρίσιν καὶ ὀφίκιον τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας
1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.4–7

(iii) = "apart from" (non-spatial), "without"

ἐσὺ 'ρθες κ' ἐπολέμησες <u>χωρὶς ἐκ τὴν βουλή μου</u>   16th c., *Imb.* Rim. 153

ἐμολόγησεν εἰς τὸν ὅρκον του πῶς δὲν ἐγίνηκε ἄλλην προσκάμωσιν <u>παρὲξ ἀπὸ τὰ</u>
<u>δύο μουσκάρια</u>   1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 20, 32.6–7

τσὶ ὁποῖες ἀτσετάραν καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἀδελφοί, <u>ὄξω ἀπού τὸ Στράτη</u>
                                                                      1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 841, 733.16–17

(iv) = "after"

<u>ὕστερα ἀπὸ τοῦτα</u>, ἐκαμώθη ὁ σουλτὰν Μεχεμέτης τάχα πῶς θέλει νὰ κάμῃ
ἀγάπην μὲ τὸν βασιλέα   17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 83.9–10

<u>ὕστερα ἀπὸ κάμποσα</u>, μία λοιμική ἀσθένεια ... ἔποικε ἐξολόθρεμα καὶ κατὰ τὰ
μέρη Σαλόνου   18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 20.1–4

With εἰς/σὲ and ἐπί

(i) = "(up)on, above, over"/"below"

στραφεὶς οὖν πάλιν ἔπεσον <u>ἐπάνω ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην</u>   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 204

ὁρκῶ σε κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κ' <u>εἰς τὴν ψυχήν σου ἀπάνω</u> 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7543

βουλὴν ἀπῆρα ... ποτὲ νὰ μὴ τὴν στρέψω ὡσότι στέκῃ ἡ ψυχή <u>ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ</u>
<u>κορμί μου</u>   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1412–13

οἱ Βενετίκοι ... γιοφύρια ἐποίκασιν <u>ἄνω εἰς τὰ καράβια</u>
                                                            16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 540–2

ἦλθαν <u>καταπάνου εἰς τὸ φουσάτον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου</u>
                                                  16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 14.21–2 (Konstantinopulos)

στρώσετε τάβλα <u>ἀπουκάτου εἰς τὴν ἀπιδέα</u>, νὰ φάω, νὰ πιῶ μὲ τὸ Χάροντα
                                                                      16th c., *Nov. II* 162.35–6

φάγα το (ψωμί) οἱ γι-ἄθρωποι <u>ἀποπάνω στὸν τάφο τση</u>
                                                  1642, Crete, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 21, 15.8

νὰ πᾶς νὰ τὸν ἀγκαλιαστεῖς <u>εἰς τὸ δεντρὸ ἀποκάτω</u>
                                                  18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.1546

ὁ Σάντσος ἐκαλοκάθισεν <u>ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ γομάρι του</u>   18th c., *Don Kis.* 47.27–8

(ii) = "between"/"during"

ἀρκεῖ καὶ σώζει νὰ γενῇ εἰρήνη καὶ φιλία <u>ἀνάμεσα γὰρ εἰς τοὺς δύο ἀφέντες τῆς</u>
<u>Ρωμανίας</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2582–3

<u>μέσον εἰς τὰ καμώματα</u> ... ἔτυχε καὶ συνέβηκεν ἀπέθαν<εν ὁ Σπά>τας
                                                            15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 174–5

<u>ἀνάμεσα εἰς τοῦτα</u> ἐσυνέβηκε καὶ ἐτοῦτο   17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 39.20–1

(iii) = "inside"

ἐσὺ ἂν ... καὶ βλέπῃς ἄλλον κείμενον <u>ἀπέσω εἰς τὸ καμίνιν</u>
                                                            13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 119–20

τοὺς ἐκατέσφαξαν <u>ἀπ' ἔσω εἰς τὰ κρεββάτια</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1542

τὸν ἐκράτει ὁ βασιλέας <u>εἰς φυλακήν του ἀπέσω</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7969

πηγαίνοντα εἰς τὴν ἀρχιεπισκοπήν, ἐβγάλαν τὰ πράματα τὰ ἐπῆραν ..., <u>μέσα στὸ</u>
<u>παλάτιν τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς</u>   16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 20.5–7

ἡ πανιερότη σου δὲ μοῦ ἔκαμες δύο λόγια ἐκεῖ <u>μέσα στὴ γραφή</u>
                                                  1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.24–5

(iv) = "in front of"/"behind", "before" (temporal)

στὸν χρόνο ἐκεῖνον καὶ καιρόν, ὅπου σὲ ἀφηγήθην ἐδῶ <u>ὀπίσω εἰς τὸ βιβλίον</u>
<u>τοῦτο</u> ποὺ ἀναγινώσκεις   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7964–5

βλέποντας ἕνα καντήλι ..., ποὺ ἔκαιε <u>ἔμπρὸς στὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Χριστοῦ</u>
                                                            18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 18.20–2

ἐπεριπατοῦσε καὶ ἔτρωγεν <u>κατόπι εἰς τὸν ἀγάν του</u>   18th c., *Don Kis.* 47.29

(v) = "near/beside/around"

τὰ τριπουτσέτα ἐσύρνασιν <u>γύρωθεν εἰς τοὺς πύργους</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1481

ἔχοντα καὶ ἦτον <u>κοντὰ τὸ Ἱεροσόλυμαν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον</u>, ἦλθαν πολλοὶ μὲ τὲς
γυναῖκες τους καὶ μὶ τὰ παιδία τους   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* O 24.7–9

ἔκαμνε χρείαν ὅτι ἐγὼ νὰ σταθῶ <u>σιμὰ εἰς τὸ κτῖσμα</u>   17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 57

(vi) = "as far as"

ἐρχόντησαν <u>μέχρι εἰς τὴν γῆν</u> ὡσὰν νὰ ἦσαν βάρκες   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 539

<u>μέχρι στὴν Ἀνδριανόπολιν</u> ἐσῶσαν κ' ἐκουρσέψαν   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 647

ἐρήμωσαν πολλὰ <u>μέχρι καὶ εἰς τὲς πόρτες</u>   15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 368

With μέ = "together with"

ἀπὸ μανίας μου ρίπτω το <u>ἀντάμου μὲ τὸ σκουτέλλιν</u>   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. IV* 244

στέκοντας καὶ ὁ Ἰωσὴφ εἰς τὴν Βηθλεὲμ <u>ὁμοῦ μὲ τὴν ἀγίαν Θεοτόκον Μαρίαν</u>
                                                            16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 337.29–30

εἰς τὴν διάταξίν σου <u>ἀντάμα μὲ τοὺς κλερονόμους σου</u> ... ἂς ἔχῃ τὸ χαρτί σου
(καὶ) τ' ὄνομαν τοῦ δικαστοῦ   16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 494–6

<u>ὁμάδι μὲ τὴν συμβίαν του</u> καὶ μὲ τὴν θυγάτηρ των
                                                  1594, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 152, 276.4–5

τάσσει ὁ αὐτὸς ἀφέντης Τζώρτζης νὰ κάμῃ τὸ Γιάννη-Τουρκογιάννη ... νὰ σπείρου
<u>ὁμάδι μὲ τὸν αὐτὸν κυρ-Νικολὸ</u> τὰ χωράφια
                                                  1611, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 729, 632.10–11

διατὶ ἂν εἶναι ἐκεῖνοι <u>ὁμάδι μὲ τοῦ λόγου σου</u>, ἐγὼ δὲν σοῦ ἀποκρίνομαι
                                                            17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34, 1–2

6.2.2   Adverb + Genitive NP

ἕτερον χωράφιν εἰς τὴν Παληρέαν μοδίων η', <u>πλησίον τοῦ Πετεάκα καὶ τοῦ Τορνάρη</u>

ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.27

νὰ ποιήσῃ κι ἄλλον (κάστρον) <u>γύρωθεν ἐκείνων τῶν βουνίων</u>

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3000

<u>ἀνάμεσα γὰρ τῶν Φραγκῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐδικοῦ του</u> ἀλλάγι ὑπάγαινε

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5063–4

ἐπεὶ ... τοῦ τόπου τὰ συνήθεια ὁρίζουν ὅτι ὁ πρίγκιπας ... σωματικῶς νὰ ἀπέρχεται <u>ἐντὸς τοῦ πριγκιπάτου</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7880–3

ὁ τάφος της εἶνε <u>κάτω τῆς γῆς</u>   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 34.2

μόνον μὲν τορμήσῃς νὰ τὸν πάρῃς <u>ἔξω τῆς Κύπρου</u>

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 68.24–5

νὰ ἐμποῦσιν <u>μέσον τοῦ ρηγὸς καὶ ἐκείνου</u> νὰ τοὺς ποίσουν ἀγάπην

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 198.2–3

τὰ ποῖα εἶναι <u>καταπρόσωπα τοῦ λουτροῦ</u>, τοῦ κόκκινου

16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 6.13

ἐνέβην <u>ὀμπρὸς τοῦ ρηγός</u>   16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 40.15–16

τὸ ἅγιο ἔργο ... ἔδωσε ἀφορμὴ ἐμᾶς ... νὰ φανερωθοῦμε <u>ἔμπροστεν τῆς ἐκλαμπρότη(ς) σας</u>   1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 33.3–5

ὡς δὲ ἐφθάσαμεν <u>ἔμπροσθεν τῶν θυρῶν</u>   16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 108.13

εἰς πᾶσαν αὐτῆς ὑπόθεσιν καὶ διαφορὰν <u>ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἐκλαμπροτάτης ἡμῶν Αὐθεντίας</u>

1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.4–5

ἐμάζωξε ὅλα του τὰ φουσσᾶτα καὶ ἐδιάβη <u>καταπάνω τοῦ Μάρκου κράλη</u>, ἀφεντὸς τῆς Βουλγαρίας   17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.11–12

ἐπῆγες καὶ <u>κόντρα τῆς φύσεώς σου</u> νὰ μὴν λυπηθῆς τὰ παιδία σου

17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 33.29–30

ὄντε ξημερώνει, ἄμε <u>ὀμπροστὰς τοῦ βασιλέως</u>   17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 42.5–6

+ Genitive Clitic

πῶς ἥπλωσας <u>ἐπάνω μου</u>;   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 145

ὀργὴν νὰ ἔχῃ <u>ἀπάνου του</u> ὁπού ποτὲ ἀγάπη θελήσῃ μὲ τὸν Πρίαμον νὰ ἔχῃ μίαν ἡμέραν   16th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1467–9 app. crit. (V)

ἐξάγκωνα τούς φέρετε δεμένους <u>ἔμπροσθέ μου</u>   15th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 367

παρακαλῶ σε νὰ ποίσωμεν δῆμμαν <u>μεσόν μας</u>

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.17–18

εἰς τὸ ἔμπα του εἰς τὸ καστέλλιν, ἐσφαλίσαν τὲς πόρτες <u>καταπρόσωπά του</u>

16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 36.20–38.1

τὰ πρόβατά του δὲ θέλει χόρτα σήμερο νὰ φᾶν <u>ἀπὸ σιμά του</u>

17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* I.33–4

ὅλα τὰ τερπνὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἦσαν <u>ὀμπρός του</u> ὡσὰν ἕνας βρῶμος

17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 47.15–16

ὕστερα ἤρθανε <u>καταπάνου τους</u> βασιλικὰ στρατεύματα

18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 22.13–14

Non-Spatial Adverbs + Genitive Clitic

τὸν ἔχω εὐκαιρητὴν ἐκεῖνον τὸν γονέαν ὁπού διδάξῃ γράμματα <u>ποτέ του</u> τὸ παιδίν του   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 208–9

<u>ποτέ μου</u> δὲν ἐζήλωσα κακὸν διὰ νὰ λαλήσω   16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 39

εἰς πάθη στέκω <u>πάντα μου</u> κι εἰς κόλαση μεγάλη

17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* I. 216

ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ συνβίαν του καὶ νὰ ἐπῆγεν νὰ ἐπουρκόταζε <u>κρυφά του</u> τῆς θυγατέρας της   1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.4–5

7 Coordination and Apposition

7.1 Coordination

7.1.1 Sentences and Clauses

(83) The linking together of (at least potentially) independent sentences within a narrative by means of initial καί is common in vernacular texts.

Treatment of such cases as a succession of autonomous sentences rather than a series of conjoined main clauses within a single sentence is essentially arbitrary, partly reflecting the manuscript tradition and partly the inclinations of editors.

The core meaning is simply additive ("and then/next"), though the context may invite more specific readings involving causation, consequence, etc.

> Καὶ καθὰ πωρνὸν ἐπήγαινεν εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν Σοφίαν. Καὶ ἐγρίκαν λειτουργιάν. Καὶ τότες ἐκαβαλλίκευγεν. Καὶ ἐπήγαινεν εἰς τὴν ρήγαιναν. Καὶ ἡ ρήγαινα ἐδείχνε του πολλὴν ἀγάπην.   16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 50.2–5

> Ἦτον ἑνὸς βασιλέως υἱός. Καὶ ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἠθέλησε νὰ ὑπάγῃ εἰς τὸν λουτρὸν νὰ λούσῃ τὸ κορμί του. Ἦτον παχὺς εἰς τὸ κορμί του, ὁμοῦ καὶ χοντρός, ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ πάχους δὲν ἐφαινόντεσαν τὰ ἀρχίδια αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ὁ λουτριάρης, ἔστοντας νὰ ἰδῇ ἐτοῦτο, ὅτι κακὸν ἦτον τοῦτο τὸ πάθος, ἔκλαιεν αὐτόν.   16th c./15th c., *Syndipas* 116.10–14

> Καὶ ἐμαζώκτησαν πολλοὶ καὶ ἀρματώθησαν καὶ ἐδιάβησαν καὶ ἐστάθησαν κοντὰ στὸν ποταμὸν λεγόμενον Σάβα. Καὶ ἀκαρτερούσανε τὸν σουλτὰν Μουράτη, ὁποῦ ἐρχέτονε μὲ πολὺ φουσσᾶτο καὶ ἔσυρνε κοντά του καὶ τοὺς δύο του υἱούς.   17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.14–17

(84) Two or more main clauses may be conjoined with (καί ...) καί "(both ...) and ... ", as may two or more subordinate clauses of the same type/with the same function; these are normally governed by the same conjunction if one is present.

Since subject pronouns are regularly omitted in LMedG/EMG unless contrastive/emphatic, it is often impossible to determine whether we are dealing with coordination of complete clauses with missing subjects, e.g. [$_s$ [$_s$ *(she) came*] and [$_s$ *(she) saw*] and [$_s$ *(she) conquered*]], or coordination of VPs that share a subject, e.g. [$_s$ *(she)* [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ *came*] and [$_{VP}$ *saw*] and [$_{VP}$ *conquered*]]]. Ambiguous examples are therefore divided somewhat arbitrarily between the two possibilities (i.e. treated as clausal coordination immediately below, and as VP coordination in 7.1.3).

In cases other than those involving conjoined clauses/VPs the default position adopted here is that we are dealing with coordinated sub-clausal constituents of the relevant type (e.g. AdjPs [[*tall*] and [*slim*]] in *she was tall and slim* etc.; see 7.1.3 for LMedG/EMG

examples), even though competing analyses involving conjoined VPs with verb ellipsis [[*was tall*] and [*(was) slim*]] or conjoined clauses with omission of subject and verb [[*she was tall*] and [*(she was) slim*]] are often possible.

> Ντζανέτα τὴν ὠνόμασαν, κι [ὅσον ἐκαταστάθη κ' ἦλθεν τοῦ νόμου ἡλικίας κ' ἐγίνετον γυναῖκα], ἄντραν τῆς ἐδώκασιν μισὶρ Νικόλαον ἐκεῖνον. 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8032–4

> Ἔπιεν ὁ πτωχὸς τὸν οἶνον καὶ ἐλησμόνησεν τὰ χρέη του.   16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 50

> Ἦτον παχὺς εἰς τὸ κορμί του, ὁμοῦ καὶ χοντρός (sc. ἦτον), ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ πάχους δὲν ἐφαινόντεσαν τὰ ἀρχίδια αὐτοῦ.   16th c./15th c., *Syndipas* 116.11–13

> ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἰωάννου Κομνηνοῦ ... ἦτον ἕνας ὀνόματι Μιχαὴλ Δούκας Γλαβᾶς, καὶ ἐτίμησέ τον ὁ βασιλεὺς πρωτοστράτορα καὶ ἔδωκέν τον τὸ φοσσᾶτον ὅλον τὸ ρωμαϊκὸν καὶ ἐμπιστεύθη του καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν κατὰ Περσῶν ἤγουν τῶν Κιζιλμπάσιδων.   1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.3–5

> ὁ ὁποῖος Λάζαρος ἔκαμε τέσσαρες ἡμέρες εἰς τὸν Ἅδην, καὶ ... ἐξηγήθη εἰς τέσσαρα βιβλία· καὶ ἰδόντας αὐτὰ οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πατέρες, ἔκρυψαν τὰ τρία καὶ δὲν ηὑρίσκονται· τὸ δὲ πρῶτον βιβλίον τοῦτο ἔναι εἰς τὴν Ρώμην· καὶ ἤκουσα ἐκ τὸν Σάντα Κροῦζε τὸν γαρδηνάλε, ὅτι πᾶσα ὁποῦ νὰ γένη νέος καρδηνάλες, τοῦ τὸ δίδουνε, καὶ τὸ διαβάζει μία φορά, καὶ ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον δὲν τὸ δείχνουν.   1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 11, 19.1

> ἐκόπηκε τὸ μιαρότατο χέρι του καὶ ἔπεσε νεκρὸ ... καὶ μεγάλος σεισμὸς ἐγενέθηκε. Ἐτότες ἐφάνηκε ἕνας καβαλάρης ... καὶ ἄρχισε νὰ σφάζη τούς πειράτες καὶ τούς ἐπῆρε κυνηγῶντας ὄξω ἀπὸ τὸ Γαλαξείδι ..., καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔγινε ἄφαντος ἀπὸ τὴν γῆ. Ἐτότες οἱ Γαλαξειδιῶτες κατατρεγμένοι ἐπήγασι καὶ ἐχτίσασι σπίτια στὰ τριγύρω νησόπουλα.   18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 18.24–19.8

> Οἱ ἰατροὶ ἐτράβηξαν τὰ σαλιβάρια των μουλαρίων, καὶ ἐστάθηκαν καὶ ἔμειναν ἔκφοβοι, [ἕνα μὲν βλέποντας τὸ ἦθος τοῦ δὸν Κισότη καὶ ἄλλο ἀκούοντας τὰ λόγια ὁποῦ τούς ἔλεγε], καὶ τὸν ἀποκρίθηκαν.   18th c., *Don Kis.* 50.3–6

(85) The enclitic ("second-position") connective δέ "and/but" is also used to link both independent sentences in a discourse and clauses with parallel function in a single sentence.

Between independent sentences the choice between additive and contrastive meaning is context-dependent; between clauses in a single sentence the meaning is more often contrastive.

Δέ is particularly frequent in the combination εἰ δὲ (μή) "and/but if (not)" (the negative version is also used as a lexicalized phrase = "otherwise").

Δέ may also be combined with the definite article in pronominal sense, e.g. ὁ δέ "and/but he" etc., which may in turn be clarified by an appositive NP, e.g. ὁ δέ [ὁ X] etc.; in rather more literary texts, ὁ δέ etc. is sometimes paired contrastively with a preceding ὁ μέν etc. "the one ... ((while) the other ...)".

> ὑπᾶτε, παραλάβετε, ἀμόλυντον κοράσιον· ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ τὰ κάλλη της καὶ τὴν πολλὴν εὐγένειαν ἀρνοῦμαι καὶ τὴν πίστι μου καὶ τὴν πολλήν μου δόξαν   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 174–6

ὁ ἀδελφός μου ... ἐπῆγεν, τὸν Ἔρμοναν ἀνέδραμεν καὶ τὸν Ζυγὸν ἐπίασεν, τὴν δὲ
Ἀρμενίαν ἐξήλειψεν, πολὺν κακὸν ἐποίησεν   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 261-3

εἰ δὲ ἀγαπᾷς τὴν περισσά, τέκνον, ὡσὰν μοῦ λέγουν, ἔπαρε καὶ αὐτὴν μετὰ ἐσέναν
15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 282-3

εἰ δὲ περάσῃ ὁ καιρός ... κι οὐδὲν ἀπέλθῃ ἐδῶ κανεὶς τὴν ἀφεντίαν νὰ ἐπάρῃ, θέλω
γὰρ ... νὰ μείνῃς κύριος ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1883-6

ὅτι ἐκ τοὺς μῆνας δώδεκα ... νὰ ἐκπληρώνῃ ὁ κατὰ εἰς τοὺς τέσσαρους γὰρ μῆνας
εἰς γαρνιζοῦν καθολικήν ... · τοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους τέσσαρους νὰ ἀπέρχεται εἰς
φουσσᾶτο, ... τὸ δὲ τὸ τρίτον τοῦ χρονοῦ ... ὀφείλει ὁ προνοιάτορας νὰ ἔνι ὅπου
θέλει.   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1995-2001

καὶ ἐμεῖναν δ᾽ σταυροί. Τὸν δὲ σταυρὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀφῆκεν τον εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν
ἁγίων μὲ πολλὺν χρυσίον καὶ μαργαριτάριν, καὶ πέτρες.
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 6.7-9

Ἡ δὲ ἡ ρήγαινα ἐκάτζεν εἰς τὸν ἡλιακὸν εἰς τὸ διάβαν τοὺς καβαλλάριδες
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 50.12-13

ὁ κύριος οἶδεν ὅτι τώρα τὰ ἐγροίκησα τοῦτα τὰ λογία, ὁ δὲ ὁ σουλτάνος μὲ πολλὴν
χαρὰν καὶ πολλὴν ἀγάπην ἐστερέωσεν καὶ ἐβεβαίωσεν τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγάπην.
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 294.9-12

Ἀνισῶς καὶ δὲν ἠξεύρῃ τίποτε, ἂς πάγῃ ἀκαταζήτητος, εἰ δὲ καὶ ξεύρῃ, νὰ τοῦ
δώσουν θάνατον.   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 300.4-6

ἀπὸ τὸν φόβον ἐπιάννασιν τὰ μαρμαρένα πιλερία ..., οἱ δὲ κεῖνοι ... καὶ ᾽κόββαν τὰ
χέργια τους, καὶ ἐπέφταν καὶ ᾽σκοτώννουνταν.
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 314.4-8

καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐφουρκίσαν, τοὺς δὲ ἐκόψαν τὲς μοῦττες τους
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 674.14

ἐστείλανε τὸν τζαούση μαντατοφόρο εἰς τὸν Μπαγιαζίτη, ὅτι νὰ δώσῃ τὰ κάστρη ...,
εἴτε δὲ καὶ δὲν τὰ ἐπιστρέψῃ, τὸν ἔχει διὰ ἐχθρόν   17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 38.7-9

NOTES

(i) There are many examples of elliptical clausal conjunction involving ὡσαύτως/
ὥσπερ/καθὼς καὶ "(just) as also ... ", where the connection is properly comparative/
equative rather than simply additive, though the meaning slips easily into "and also"
in many cases:

οὐκ ἠμπορῶ ἀπόκρισιν νὰ ποιήσω ἄνευ βουλῆς καὶ θέλημα ... τοῦ ρήγα, ...
ὡσαύτως (οὐκ ἠμπορῶ ἀπόκρισιν νὰ ποιήσω ἄνευ βουλῆς καὶ θέλημα) καὶ τῆς
ρήγαινας   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 242-6

[τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀρχόντισσας μαντάμα Μαργαρίτας νὰ τὸ κρατήσετε καλὰ] [ὥσπερ
(νὰ κρατήσετε καλά) καὶ τὸ τῆς κούρτης]   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7545-6

ἐτοῦτα μὲν εἶπεν ὁ ἀστρολόγος, καθὼς πρωτύτερας (εἶπεν) καὶ ὁ Βαλαάμ
17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 38.26

(ii) Coordination between two clauses (with or without ellipsis) may also be achieved
through the use of ὄχι μόνο(ν) ... ἀλλά/ἀμή/μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ... "not only ... but also ... ":

ἐπλάκωσεν τὸν λαὸν ὅλον καὶ οὐχὶ μόνον (ἐπλάκωσεν τὸν λαὸν ὅλον) ὑπὸ ἀνέμου,
ἀμὴ καὶ (ἐπλάκωσεν τὸν λαὸν ὅλον) ὑπὸ νεροῦ, ὅτι ἐξήχυσεν ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ
ἔπνιξεν χιλιάδας ν᾽ καὶ β᾽   1326, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 41, 93.7-9
καὶ ἔναι ἐντροπὴ μεγάλη· καὶ ὄχι μόνον ἐντροπήν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ζημία
15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 2773-4

(iii) Absence of formal coordination ("asyndeton") is a standard option between all but the
last pair of a series of three or more coordinated clauses, though it is not uncommon,
especially in verse, for coordination to be left unmarked throughout:

ἤμουν παιδίν, ἐγήρασα, πολὺν διῆλθον κόσμον, σοφῶν ἀρχαίων ἤκουσα, πολλὰς
ἀνέγνων βίβλους, πάντων ἐν πείρᾳ γέγονα, πᾶσαν ὁδὸν ἐξεῦρον, πλάσματα
πάλιν μυθικὰ καὶ λόγους γραϊδίων ἠκριβωσάμην
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 1-5

πίνει τα καὶ ἐρεύγεται, κιρνοῦν τὸν ἄλλον ἕνα, καὶ παρευθὺς ὑπόδημαν ἐγείρει καὶ
πετσώνει   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 123-4

θέλω νὰ ἀφηγήσωμαι περὶ τὸν Μέγαν Κύρην, ... ὅπου ἦτον δοῦκας Ἀθηνῶν, καλὸς
ἀφέντης ἦτον   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7958-60

ἂν στραφῇ εἰς τὴν Φραγκίαν, ἂν οὐδὲν ποιήσῃ ἔργον νὰ μείνῃ εἰς τὴν Ρωμανίαν νὰ
εὕρῃ οἰκονομίαν του, ὅλοι τὸν θέλουσι γελᾶ, μέμφεσται κι ὀνειδίζει
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8183-5

εἰς τὸ καράβι σύντομα ἐσέβηκεν, ὑπάγει ... τόσα ἔπλευσαν, τόσα ἔποικαν,
φθάνουν τὴν Σαλαμῖναν   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1383-5

ἔλα μέσα, ἰδές με   16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 331.5

(iv) When, after a negative proposition, a conjoined clause is also negated, οὐδέ/μηδέ
"and not" are regularly used, though disjunctive οὔτε/μήτε "nor" are sometimes used
instead, especially in more popular registers (the two meanings are barely distinct
in negative environments); there is also some evidence in later texts of uncertainty
regarding the choice of οὐδέ/οὔτε vs. μηδέ/μήτε:

μὴ οὖν ἀποχωρίσῃς τους, μηδ᾽ ἀποπέμψῃς μᾶλλον   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 12

οὐκ εἶδα εἰς τὸ δακτύλιν μου κρικέλλιν δακτυλίδιν, οὐδὲ βραχιόλιν μὲ ἔφερες ποτὲ
νὰ τὸ φορέσω   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 51-2

ἐκεῖνοι οὐδὲν τοῦ ἐποίκασιν τίποτε πονηρίαν, οὔτε ἀνυπολήπτησαν τὸν βασιλέαν
κἀνόλως   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5266-7

θάνατον οὐκ ἐψήφησα ποτὲ εἰς τὴν ζωήν μου, οὐδ᾽ ἔλεγα [νὰ χωριστῇ ψυχὴ ἐκ τὸ
κορμίν μου]   16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 57-8

οἱ μάμμες ἔστεκαν ἔξω ἀπὸ τὸ σπήλαιον καὶ δὲν ἤβλεπαν, μήτε ἠμποροῦσαν νὰ
σεβοῦν μέσα εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον ἀπὸ τὴν πολλὴν λάμψιν
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.24-6

τὰ πάθη της δὲ γνώθουσι, οὐδὲ τὰ κουρφά τοτη ἐνιῶσα καὶ λὲν πῶς τό 'χει φυσικό
ν' ἀδυναμίση τόσα   18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.35–6

τῆς κόρης δέν της ἄγγιξεν, οὐδὲ ἐπείραξέν την   17th c., PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2373

(v)   For the "subordinating" use of the conjunction καί, see Chapter 2, Rules (23), (27)
and (29) (under *Verbs of Aspectual Specification*, NOTE (ii)).

7.1.2   Contrastive and Disjunctive Clausal Coordination

**(86) To emphasize a clearly contrastive/adversative connection between sentences
or clauses (= "but", "however") ἀλλά, ἀμ(μ)ή/ἀμ(μ)έ/μά, ὅμως and πλήν are
used; ὅμως only links independent sentences, but the remaining conjunctions
are also used to connect clauses within a sentence.**

ἀμμή δεσμά καὶ βάσανα καὶ φυλακὰς καὶ πύργους, Βαράγγους ἀ[λαλά]ζοντας καὶ ὁ
φόβος ἐξυπνᾶ σε   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 169–70

Ὅμως ἐγὼ ἀπό τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν δόξαν οὐδὲν εὑρίσκω εἰς ἐμέν …
τοσούτην ἀδιάκρισιν, νὰ μὴ τὸ ἐγνωρίζω ὅτι   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 947–9

μὴ ἀκριβευτῆ, ὀκνήση το, μὴ ὅλως τὸ ἀμελέση, ἀλλά ἂς βιαστῆ μὲ προθυμίαν τὸν
τόπον νὰ κερδίση   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4566–7

Ἀλλά ἀφότου ἄλλαξεν τοῦ πρίγκιπος ἡ ἀφεντία, καὶ ἤλθαμεν στὴν ἀφεντίαν τοῦ
ἀφέντη μας τοῦ ρῆγα, ἐὰν εἴχαμεν τὴν δύναμιν νὰ ἐποιήσαμεν τὸ ὁμάτζιον!
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7908–10

Ὅμως ἂς λείψουν τὰ πολλά, ἐὰν ἓν' τὸ θέλημά σου   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7916

τίποτε δὲν σας θέλουν ὠφελήσει (τῶν Φραγγῶν τὰ λόγια), πλήν θέλουν σας χαλάσει,
καθὼς ἐχαλάσασιν καὶ τοὺς θεσσαλονικαίους   1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.15–16

Ὅμως τοῦτο θέλομεν τὸ σκεφθῆ ἀντάμα, καὶ θέλομεν ποιήσει τὸ κάλλιον
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.5–6

δὲν σᾶς τὸ ἔγραψα ὅτι πῶς νὰ πορνεύετε, ἀμή διὰ νὰ μὴν ἀπελπίζεται τινὰς κἂν
ἁμαρτωλὸς πολλὰ καὶ ἂν ἔναι, ἀλλά νὰ σπουδάζη νὰ κάνη ἐλεημοσύνην
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 415.21–4

Ὅμως δὲν διδοῦμεν ἀφορμήν τινος καὶ σκούζαν νὰ μὲν δίδη ψυχικά, ἐλεημοσύνην,
ἀπού ζῶντά του, ἀμμὲ νὰ τὰ φυλάγη ἀποθανόντα του   16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 499–501

δὲν ἦτον φῶς καθαρόν, ἀμή ἦτον ὡσὰν ἀντάρα
16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 107.30–1

Μὰ εἶν' τὸ πρεπό … νὰ σᾶσε φανερώσω ποιός εἶμαι
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* Prol. Apoll. 9–10

δὲν εἶδα νὰ σταθῆ τὸν ἥλιο νὰ μ' ἀκούση, μὰ εἶδα χαράκια καὶ δεντρὰ πολλὰ ν'
ἀνασπαστοῦσι, νὰ φεύγου   17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* I.73–5

Ἀμ' ὅσην ὥραν ἤβλεπεν ἐκεῖνο πού τὴν κρίνει, οἱ λογισμοὶ κ' οἱ πόνοι της τση κάναν
καλοσύνη, μὰ σὰν τὸν εἶχε στερευτῆ, περίσσα ἐτυραννᾶτο κι ὅλη ἐξαναμαλάσσετο
κι ὅλη ἐξαναγεννᾶτο   18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.19–22

Πλήν φαίνεταί τωνε πῶς εἶναι μίαν σκλαβίαν νὰ εἶναι εἰς τὴν ὑποταγὴν τοῦ κοινοβίου
1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174.12–13

**(87) Disjunctive clausal coordination is expressed positively by (εἴτε …) εἴτε … /
(ἤ …) ἤ … "(either …) or … " (also οὐ in Cyprus, γή/ὅ in Crete, ὄβερ in the
Cyclades etc.), and negatively by οὔτε … οὔτε … /μήτε … μήτε … "neither
… nor … "; οὐδέ/μηδέ "and not" may be substituted when the sense is clearly
additive (cf. NOTE (iv) above), though this also occurs occasionally when the
meaning is disjunctive.**

For the single use of οὔτε/μήτε, see again NOTE (iv) above.

In later texts there is evidence of uncertainty regarding the choice between οὐ and μή in
these elements.

When forms of θέλω are contrasted in formulaic expressions of the type "(whether I/
you) like it or not", the conjunction is normally omitted (θέλεις … θέλεις … can be used to
mean simply "whether … or … "):

θέλω οὐ θέλω γίνομαι καὶ τὸ μωροῦ σαμάριν   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 558

ἐννόμους δὲ γάμους πληροῦσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ὅταν εἶναι ὁ ἄνθρωπος χρόνων ιδ' καὶ
ἄνωθεν, ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ γυναίκα νὰ ἔναι χρόνων ιβ' καὶ ἄνωθεν, θέλεις αὐτεξούσιοι
θέλεις ὑπεξούσιοι   ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 238.400–2

Positive

ἠντεστάθην, ὅταν τὸ ἤκουσα εἴτε ἐθεώρουν τινάς, ὅτι ἐκρατοῦσαν το
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.5–6

τὸ μεγαλογράμματον ἱμάτιν τὸ κνηκάτον ἤ χάρισον ἤ πώλησον ἤ δὸς ὁπού κελεύεις
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 60–1

ἐκεῖνον τὸ πράγμαν εἶχάν το πάρειν, οὐ εἶχάν το σύρειν εἰς τὴν γῆν τοὺς Σαρακηνούς
15th c./?13th c., *Assizes* B 424.9

ἆσ' τα αὐτά τὰ φαγητὰ καὶ δὲς νὰ μοῦ βοηθήσης, γή ἀποθαμένος βρίσκομαι
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* III.111–12

νὰ ἔρθει εἰς τέρμενο μέρες τρεῖς ἐρχόμενες νὰ τὰ ἐμολογήσει, ὁ νὰ τὰ φέρουσι στὸν
τόπο τως   1664, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 7, 417.16–17

ἀνίσως καὶ λάβη τὰ ἄνωθεν γρόσα καλά, ὄβερ καὶ τὰ ἄνωθεν γρόσα δὲν λάβη
1686, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 8, 21.6–7

NOTE

(i)   In examples where the first clause contains an imperative and the second an indicative
verb, such as the *Katzourbos* example above (ἆσ' τα αὐτά τὰ φαγητὰ καὶ δὲς νὰ μοῦ
βοηθήσης, γή ἀποθαμένος βρίσκομαι), the disjunctive element implies "if you don't
(do as I ask)", and may often be translated "or else".

Negative

ὀμνέω … ὅτι νὰ μὴν δὲν ἔχετε κανέναν φόβον … μήτε ἐκκλησίας νὰ χαλάσωμεν, μήτε
μασγίδι νὰ ποιήσωμεν   1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.17–22

νὰ μὴ μπορῇ νὰ τῶνε πάρῃ περισσότερο ἀπού τὰ κζ´ μουζούρια τὸ στάρι ὁ ἄνωθεν
ἀφέντης Νικολός, <u>οὐδὲ</u> κεῖνος (νὰ [μὴ] μπορῇ νὰ τῶνε πάρῃ περισσότερο) <u>οὐδὲ</u> τὰ
παιδία του (νὰ [μὴ] μποροῦν νὰ τῶνε πάρουν περισσότερο)

<div align="right">1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 5, 28.10–12</div>

εἰ μὲν ... καὶ ἀποθάνην τὸ παιδὶ ... καὶ μείνην ἄκληρη, νὰ μὴν ἠνμπορεῖ ἀπὸ τὴν
πουρκὶν ... <u>μήτε</u> νὰ πουλήσην, <u>μήτε</u> νὰ χαρίσην, <u>μήτε</u> νὰ πουρκοδοτήσην, <u>μήτε</u> διὰ
τὴν ψυχήν της νὰ κάμη [παρὰ μόνον δύο πρόθεσες νὰ δώνη διὰ τὴν ψυχήν της]

<div align="right">1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 180.14–21</div>

ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ εὐμορφία εἰς μίαν τιμημένην γυναῖκα εἶναι ὡσὰν τὴν μακρινὴν φωτίαν
ἢ ὡσὰν ἕνα κοπτερὸν σπαθί, ὁποὺ <u>μήτε</u> αὐτὸ κόπτει <u>μήτε</u> ἐκείνη καίει ὅποιον δὲν
πλησιάσει αὐτά

<div align="right">18th c., Don Kis. 91.25–8</div>

τόσον ἐκαταπείσθη πῶς ἐκεῖνοι ἦτον γίγαντες, ὁποὺ <u>οὔτε</u> ἄκουε τὲς φωνὲς τοῦ
ὁπλοφόρου του, <u>μήτε</u> τοὺς ἐγνώριζε, ἀγκαλὰ καὶ νὰ εἶχε πλησιάσει

<div align="right">18th c., Don Kis. 45.20–2</div>

7.1.3   Other Constituents

**(88) Sub-clausal constituents of all kinds may be coordinated in similar ways,
provided that the elements involved are of the same syntactic category.**

With predicative expressions (e.g. after the verb "to be"), however, it is not necessary
for the coordinated elements to be categorically identical; the functional equivalence is
sufficient.

As noted above, it may be difficult to decide in particular cases whether we are dealing
with true constituent coordination or coordination of clauses with ellipsis in the second
conjunct.

Additive ((καί ...) καί ... "(both ...) and ... ")

NP Coordination

οὐκ ἡμπορῶ ἀπόκρισιν νὰ ποιήσω ἄνευ [βουλῆς] <u>καὶ</u> [θέλημα τοῦ ἀφέντου μου τοῦ
ρήγα], ὅπου ἔχω [ἀφέντην] <u>καὶ</u> [γαβρόν]   14th c., Chron. Mor. H 243–5

ὁρκῶ ... [ἐσὲν] <u>κι</u> [ὅσοι καθέζονται μετὰ σὲ ἐδῶ εἰς τὴν κούρτην], τὸ δίκαιον τῆς
ἀρχόντισσας ... νὰ τὸ κρατήσετε καλά   14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7543–6

ἐγεννήθηκεν ἀπὸ μίαν παρθένον ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁποῖος ἔναι αὐθέντης [τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ] <u>καὶ</u> [τῆς γῆς] <u>καὶ</u> [τῆς θαλάσσου] <u>καὶ</u> [πάσης κτίσεως]

<div align="right">16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 335.1–3</div>

VP Coordination

[κούρση ἡπήρασιν πολλά], [ἐπίασαν καὶ ἀνθρώπους], <u>κ´</u> [ἐστράφησαν ἐσώθησαν εἰς
τὴν Ἁγίαν Μαύραν]   15th c., Chron. Toc. 166–7

[πέψε φέρε ἀπὸ τοὺς φίλους σου καὶ ἀπὲ τὴν πίστιν σου καλοὺς καβαλλάρους
ψουμάτους] <u>καὶ</u> [ποῖσε ἀβιτζιάλιδες]

<div align="right">16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 22.24–5</div>

AdjP Coordination

ὡς ἦτον [μέγας] <u>κ´</u> [εὐγενὴς] κ´ εἶχε πολὺ λογάριν   14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8072

τῇ δευτέρα τῇ ιδ´ μαρτίου ατοδ´ Χριστοῦ ... οἱ [ἐντιμότατοι] <u>καὶ</u> [φρονιμώτατοι]
ἄνθρωποι ... ἦλθαν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ρηγός

<div align="right">16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 504.40–506.4</div>

PP Coordination

ὁρκῶ σε [κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ] <u>κ´</u> [εἰς τὴν ψυχήν σου ἀπάνω] ... τὸ δίκαιον τῆς
ἀρχόντισσας ... νὰ τὸ κρατήσετε καλά   14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7543–6

μοίρασε τὸ ρηγάτον σου [εἰς αὐτόνς σου] <u>καὶ</u> [εἰς αὐτόν τους]

<div align="right">16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 22.26</div>

Coordination of Predicative Expressions

ὤμοσε ὁ μπάϊλος ... καὶ τότε οἱ λίζιοι ἄνθρωποι, νὰ εἶναι [δοῦλοι] <u>καὶ</u> [πιστοὶ ...]

<div align="right">14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7930–1</div>

NOTES

(i)   The AG combination ... τε καί ... "both ... and ... " is confined almost entirely to the
poetic formula/cliché μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι "young and old":

βουλὴν ἀπῆραν ἐνομοῦ μικροὶ <u>τε καὶ</u> μεγάλοι   14th c., Chron. Mor. H 906

(ii)   The content of an expression may be rendered more precise by appending a "both-
and" specification, cf. "the human beings, both men and women"; this is common
in legal texts, where the relevant meaning is often expressed in the form ἔτσι/τόσον
(καί) ..., ὡσὰν καί ... "just as ..., so also ...":

καὶ ἀνὶ φυτέψη καὶ ἄλλα νὰ κάνου καρπό, [<u>ἔτσι</u> ἀπὸ τὰ παλιὰ] [<u>ὡσὰν καὶ</u> τὰ νιά],
νὰ παίρνη <ὁ> ἀφεντότοπος τὰ μισὰ καὶ ὁ κοπιαστὴς τὰ ἄλλα μισά, [<u>ἔτσι καὶ</u>
ἀπὸ τὸ ἀμπέλι] [<u>ὡσὰν καὶ</u> ἀπὸ τὸ χωράφι]

<div align="right">1596, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 154, 279.10–13</div>

ξεκαθαρίζοντας ἀκομὴ ἂν ἔναι καὶ κιανένα καιρὸ δὲν τοῦ θέλασι δώσει τὸ στάρι,
νὰ μπορῇ, ἃ δὲν εὕρη ἄλλο τίβοτας νὰ πλερωθῇ, νὰ πιάνη τὰ ὀζά τωνε, [<u>ἔτσι</u>
χοντρά] [<u>ὡσὰν καὶ</u> λιανά]   1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 5, 28.14–16

ὅποιος ἤθελεν ἀλληλοήσει ἀπού τσὶ δύο, <u>τόσον ὁ ἕνας ὡσὰν καὶ τὸν ἄλλο</u>, νὰ
μπορῇ νὰ δίδη τοῦ ἀλλοῦ ὑπέρπυρα ρ´

<div align="right">1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 8, 30.11–12</div>

If a negative meaning is required, οὔτε/μήτε ... οὔτε/μήτε ... "neither ... nor ... " are used,
with some fluctuation between initial οὐ- and μή- (see under *Disjunctive constituent coor-
dination (negative)* below):

ἦτον μέλας, ἤγουν <u>μελαψός</u>, <u>μήτε</u> [τόσον μαῦρος] <u>μήτε</u> [τόσον ἄσπρος]

<div align="right">16th c., Vios Aisop. K 147.10</div>

τώρα <u>δὲν</u> εὑρίσκομαι νὰ ἔχω <u>τίβοτις</u>, <u>μήτε</u> σολδία, <u>μήτε</u> ροῦχα

<div align="right">1643, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1960: 3, 3.10</div>

(iii) When the sense is clearly negative-additive ("and not") οὐδέ/μηδέ are normally used, though there are overlaps with οὔτε/μήτε "nor" (cf. NOTE (iv) above and *Disjunctive constituent coordination* (negative) below):

ἤξευρε, ἀθλία, ὅτι ὁ υἱός μας <u>δὲν</u> ἀπέθανεν <u>οὐδὲ</u> ἀφανίσθη <u>οὐδὲ</u> ἐσάπη εἰς τὸν τάφον
16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 106.31–2

(iv) Constituent coordination, like clausal coordination, may be asyndetic:

[ἔδραμεν] [ἐκούρσευσεν] χωρία καὶ κατοῦνες διὰ θαλάσσου καὶ ξηρᾶς] ... κ'
[ἐστράφησαν] [ἐσώθησαν εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν Μαύραν]   15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 163–7

[πέψε] [φέρε] ἀπὸ τοὺς φίλους σου καὶ ἀπὲ τὴν πίστιν σου καλοὺς καβαλλάρους
ψουμάτους   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.24–5

νὰ εἶναι ὁ ἄνωθεν κυρ-Τζανής ... νοικοκύρης εἰς τὰ ἄνωθεν πράματα, [πουλεῖν],
[χαρίζειν], [προικίζειν], [ποιεῖν ὡς βούλεται]
1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 211, 216.18

Adversative

This is expressed by ἀλλά/ἀμ(μ)ή/μά etc.:

ἀρνεῖσαι τὸν Χριστὸν <u>μὰ</u> ὄχι τὴν μητέρα του   17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 165.14

ἐκηρύττασιν ὄχι μὲ φόβον τινὰν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ <u>ἀμὴ</u> μὲ μεγάλον θάρρος καὶ
παρρησίαν   17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 32.10–11

Disjunctive

Positive

Positive disjunctive constituent coordination is expressed by (εἴτε ...) εἴτε ... /(ἢ ...) ἢ ... "(either ...) or ... " (also οὖ in Cyprus, γή/ὄ in Crete etc.):

ἐμὲν ποτὲ οὐκ ἐπήντησε στρατηγὸς <u>ἢ</u> τοπάρχης   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 149

περὶ τοῦ δούλου <u>οὖ</u> τῆς δούλης ὁποὺ φέρνει τὸν αὐθέντην του εἰς ἀγκάλεμαν, τίντα
ἐμπαίνει νὰ δώσῃ   16th c./?13th c., Cyprus, *Assizes* A 5.1–2

τίς νὰ πιστέψῃ εἰς Ρωμαῖον εἰς λόγον <u>εἴτε</u> εἰς ὅρκον;   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 758

μηνοῦμε σας ὅτι ... μηδὲν σουφριάσετε κανένα μας ὀφισιάλην ... νὰ τρεμεντιαστῇ εἰς
καμία ἀγορὰ σιταρίου, <u>οὖ</u> κριθαρίου, <u>οὖ</u> κρασίου <u>οὖ</u> καμίας ἄλλης ρέντας
1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 7, 7.1–4

κι' ἃ δῇς τὴν Πουλισένα <u>γἢ</u> τὴν Ἀννούσα, πές τους το νὰ σοῦ τὸ ποῦν ἐσένα
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* III.147–8

νὰ μὴν ἔχῃ ἐξουσίαν ποτὲ καιροῖς κανένας, <u>ἢ</u> ἀπὸ τὴν μεγάλην Μέσην <u>ἢ</u> ἀπὸ
μοναστήρι, νὰ τοὺς ἐνοχλήσῃ   1661, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 71, 200.13–14

ἐγὼν δὲ θέλω ἀφήσων κανέναν νὰ σιμώσην εἰσὲ ἀλώνι της <u>ἢ</u> σὲ πατητήριν της
1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.12–13

Negative

In negative contexts οὔτε/μήτε ... οὔτε/μήτε ... "neither ... nor ... " are used, with fluctuation between initial οὐ- and μή-; the final οὔτε/μήτε of a series may be supported by ἀλλά (i.e. with disjunctive rather than strictly adversative meaning), or be replaced by οὐδέ/μηδέ in the emphatic sense of "not/nor even":

ὅτι ὅποιον κάστρο καὶ χώρα προσκυνήσῃ μὲ τὸ καλόν, νὰ <u>μηδὲν</u> ἔχῃ [κανέναν
φόβον], <u>οὔτε</u> [κακόν], <u>οὔτε</u> [κουρσεμόν], ἀλλ' <u>οὔτε</u> [κανέναν χαλασμόν]
1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.10–12

ὀμνέω σας ... ὅτι νὰ <u>μὴν δὲν</u> ἔχετε [κανέναν φόβον], <u>μήτε</u> [αἰχμαλωτισμόν], <u>μήτε</u>
[πιασμὸν παιδίων]   1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.17–21

<u>δὲν</u> εἶχε <u>μήτε</u> στρουμέντο <u>μηδὲ</u> στιμαριστάδες   1657, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 4, 51.11

7.2   Apposition

7.2.1   Appositive Clauses

(89) An appositive clause may be used to expand/clarify the content of a NP headed by an abstract noun with a non-specific but potentially propositional denotation, cf. "the news/the theory/the fact [that ...]".

Unlike relative clauses, appositives are not descriptive of their antecedents but stand in an equative relationship with them, i.e. the content of the clause *is* the news/the theory/the fact etc.; their presence is justified to the extent that they add contextually relevant detail to a largely uninformative expression.

A common variant is the use of a cataphoric pronominal in place of the abstract noun, cf. "I will tell you this (*sc.* news etc.), that ... "

A range of clause types is attested, largely reflecting the semantics of the antecedent (e.g. factive vs. non-factive, statement vs. question etc.), and καί is sometimes substituted as the linking element. It is often impossible to distinguish what are in principle optional appositives (pragmatically helpful in particular contexts) from complement clauses (semantically presupposed by the antecedent even if not overtly represented). In the examples below, the "namely"-relation characteristic of appositives is reflected in the use of a comma after the head noun, though this is really no more than editorial interpretation (cf. 2.2 and 5.2.3 for further discussion, and see 5.2.3 for parallel examples treated as complements).

τὸν δὲ πατριάρχην ἔγραψεν αὐστηρὰς γραφάς, ἀναδιδάσκων <u>τὸ δίκαιον</u>, ὅτι [οὐκ
ἔστιν ὁ ἀποστολικὸς θρόνος Ἀντιοχείας ὑπὸ τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως]
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 31 822.33–5

τί <u>τοῦτο, ὅτι</u> [ἐπαινῶ τοὺς χειροτεχναρίους]   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 188

ὁ λουτριάρης, ἔστοντας νὰ ἰδεῖ <u>ἐτοῦτο, ὅτι</u> [κακὸν ἦτον τοῦτο τὸ πάθος], ἔκλαιεν
αὐτόν   16th c./15th c., *Syndipas* 116.13–14

τοῦτον ἦτον <u>ἡ ἀφορμή, καὶ</u> [ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔππεσεν ἀπάνω τους]
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 16.12–13

ἐθαύμασεν ὁ Δάρειος σ' Ἀλέξανδρου <u>τὴν γνῶσιν, πού</u> [τὸν ἐβάσταξε καρδιὰ σ'
ἀποκοτιᾶ τὴν τόσην]   16th c., *Alex.* Rim. 1191–2

τοῦτο ἤτονε <u>μέγα θαῦμα περισσότερον παρὰ ὅλα, ὁπού</u> [ἡ κιβωτὸς ... ἤτονε τότες
εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παλαιὰ καὶ χαλασμένη]
                                                   16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.27–28, 31–2

ἔκαμεν <u>ὅρκον, ὅτι</u> [ἡ παραίτησις στανικῶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο] καὶ <u>ὅτι</u> [... εἴδησιν δὲν
ἤξευρε]   16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 178–80

τί νὰ λέγω <u>τὰ πολλὰ ὁπού δὲν κάμνουν χρεία, πού</u> [ἡ γῆς ἐπορφυρώθηκεν ἐκ τὰ
πολλὰ κορμία;]   17th c., DIAKR., *Diig. Pol.* 283–4

7.2.2   Appositive NPs

**(90) One NP (the appositive) may be juxtaposed to a preceding NP (the antecedent)
to form a construction in which the second modifies the first; the two NPs
agree in case and have the same referent.**

Non-restrictive Apposition

If the appositive element has a non-restrictive function, it functions much like a non-
restrictive relative clause (see 5.3.3, Rule (79)), and may be understood according to con-
text as ascribing an ancillary property to the antecedent (i.e. as descriptive: "NP, [who is
also/incidentally] a/the X"), or as clarifying the identity of the referent (i.e. as epexegetic:
"NP, [namely/specifically] a/the X"); in many cases either reading is possible. The anteced-
ent and the appositive may, independently of one another, be either definite or indefinite:

ἔτεκαν <u>παῖδα θαυμαστόν, τὸν Διγενὴν Ἀκρίτην</u>   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 219

θαρρῶν ὅτι <u>ἄλλον δεύτερον πατέρα</u> νὰ γνωρίσῃ, <u>τὸν μέγαν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ
πενθερὸν ἐσέναν</u>   ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.8v.17–20

ἐπεὶ ἐπαρεκάλεσα <u>τὸν παναγιώτατον ἡμῶν δεσπότην, τὸν οἰκουμενικὸν
πατριάρχην</u>   1357/60, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 237, 364–365.1–3

εἰς ἄρχων ἔστειλε τὸν δοῦλον του, νὰ τὸν ἀγοράσῃ <u>πουλιὰ γενεὲς τρεῖς, περιστέρια,
τρυγόνια καὶ σπουργῖτες</u>   post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 53, 44.1–2

ἐγώ σοῦ ἔφερα <u>δύο μάμμες, τὴν Σαλώμην καὶ τὴν Γελώμην</u>, καὶ στέκουν ἔξω
                                                   16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.27–8

ὅσοι ... ἐπιθυμοῦσι νὰ γένουν πατέρες ἐνδόξων ... παιδίων, συμβουλεύσει τους
ἤθελα νὰ μὴ συμμίξουν μὲ <u>ὁποίαν τύχῃ γυναῖκα, πόρνην λέγω, πολιτικὴν ἢ
παλλακήν</u>   16th c., SOFIANOS, *Paidag.* 95.9–11

ἐπειδὴ <u>ἡ ὁσιότατη μοναχὴ κερα Μακαρία Κουκάκαινα, ἡ ἡγουμένη καὶ οἰκοκυρὰ
τοῦ μοναστηρίου τοῦ μεγάλου Γεωργίου τοῦ Κερατιδιώτου</u>, εὑρίσκεται ἀχαμνὰ
                                                   1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.2–4

ἀμὴ εἶχεν <u>ἕναν τίποτες ὁπού τοῦ ἔκοπτε τὴν χαρὰν καὶ εὐφροσύνη, τὸ κακὸν τῆς
ἀπαιδίας</u>   17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 31.35–8

ρίχνοντας ἀπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸ φωτιὲς καὶ ἀστροπελέκια, πού νὰ σὲ κατακάψουνε μαζὶ μὲ
<u>τὴν παλλακή, τὴν μιαρότατη τοῦ Σατανᾶ φιλενάδα</u>
                                                   18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 26.7–10

Restrictive Apposition

A restrictive appositive NP is similar in function to a restrictive relative clause (see 5.3.3,
Rule (78)). But when a definite antecedent is modified in this way, the appositive too must
be definite (cf. *my brother *a/the doctor*), i.e. its specific purpose is to identify the intend-
ed member of the already definite set of individuals potentially denoted by the antecedent
(e.g. "my brother who is the doctor, not the one who is the lawyer" etc.). Accordingly, the
definite article is normally used in both parts of this construction in LMedG/EMG, though
it is sometimes omitted with proper names (see 5.3.2 for further discussion).

By contrast, indefinite restrictive apposition requires a predicative reading of the appos-
itive, of the type "[an X] [(who is (a)) Y]"; NPs in predicative function standardly appear
without an indefinite article (see 5.3.2, Rule (76) NOTE (i)).

Definite

ἔχω καὶ αὐτὸ ἀγορὰν ἀπὸ <u>τὸν Θεόδωρον τὸν Καλημέρην</u> καὶ <u>τὴν νύφην αὐτοῦ τὴν
Μαρίαν</u>   ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.27–8

καὶ νὰ ἴδωσιν <u>τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς ἀποκρισιάρους</u>   15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 46

ἐχαρίσαμε <u>τοῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ τσαμπερλάνο‹υ› τοῦ δουλευτῆ μας</u> τὸ κοπέλι
                                          1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 72, 36.1

καὶ φαμιλικῶς εὑρισκομένων εἰς κάστρον ἐν τῶν ἐκεῖσε κεφαλατεύοντες <u>ὁ γαμβρός
μου Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαιολόγος ὁ Μαμωνᾶς</u> ... ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφή μου καὶ γυνὴ
αὐτοῦ καὶ παιδὶν ἓν αὐτῶν θῆλυ   15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 12.2–4

χρωστάει μου <u>ἡ κυρὰ Ἀγγέλω ἡ κονιάδα μου ἡ Κοτομανόλαινα</u> δουκάτα ἐφθά (=
ἐφτά)   1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 91, 96.44–5

Indefinite

Ἰανουάριος ἤτον ἀπ' αὐτὸν νὰ στήκεται καὶ ἐκεῖνος, <u>ἄνθρωπος ὅλος κυνηγός</u>, ὅλος
θαρσὺς τὸ σχῆμα   14th–15th c./13th c., *Liv.* α 1179–80

εἴχαμεν <u>φίλον κηπουρὸν</u> καὶ δίδαμέν του γέννημαν καὶ ἔδιδέν μας λάχανα
                                                   16th c./?, *Paroim.* Η 10

καὶ ἂν μὲ 'δῇ ὅτι νὰ μιλήσω, <u>γραῖαν γυναῖκα</u> νὰ ἀγαπήσω, λέγει
                                                   16th c., *Epain. gyn.* 469–71

NOTES

(i) A special form of restrictive apposition occurs when the antecedent identifies a
     conventional measure, or a container serving as a measure, and the appositive
     specifies the material or substance that is "measured" or "contained". In LMedG/
     EMG this construction has largely supplanted the common AG use of a partitive
     genitive, though there are a handful of early examples in the corpus, e.g. σίτου μόδια
     ἓξ *Vios Philaret.* 287 (11th c./9th c.):

Definite

ἔδωκέ του τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὰ σεντούκια καὶ <u>τὰ σακκία τὸν σιναπόσπορον</u>
<div align="right">16th c./15th c., Diig. Alex. V 41.10–11</div>

εἰδὲ <u>τὰ ἄλλα δυὸ βαρέλια τοὺς ψαρογαύρους</u> ἔδωκες ἀπὸ καιρὸν ἐμπίστως ἑνὸς
Σφακιώτη
<div align="right">1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 255, 253.10–11</div>

νὰ μὴ μπορῇ νὰ τῶνε πάρῃ περισσότερο ἀπού <u>τὰ κζ' μουζούρια τὸ στάρι</u> ὁ
ἄνωθεν ἀφέντης Νικολός
<div align="right">1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 5, 28.10–11</div>

ἤγουν νὰ τοὺς ἀνακατογυρίσουν ἐκεῖνα <u>τὰ βαρέλια τὰ σῦκα</u>
<div align="right">17th c., Bertoldin. 114.30–1</div>

Indefinite

ἂν γένῃ κτύπος πούποτε, <u>μόδιν ἀγγέλους</u> βλέπεις
<div align="right">13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 149</div>

ὁπού ἐπούλησε τοὺς ἄνωθε Τρουγιανάδες <u>ἕνα κομμάτι χωράφι</u>
<div align="right">1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 159, 100.4–5</div>

ἔσοντας νὰ ἔκαμα <u>μία μιργιὰ κερί</u>
<div align="right">1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 4, 60.1</div>

(ii) Multi-part proper names also constitute a special case in that, though they too are regularly treated as combinations of antecedent and appositive (with the referential range of the first name restricted by what follows), they can also be analysed as forming a single NP. When definiteness is overtly marked, the former option normally requires a separate article in each element of the name:

ἔχω καὶ αὐτὸ ἀγορὰν ἀπὸ <u>τὸν Θεόδωρον τὸν Καλημέρην</u> καὶ τὴν νύφην αὐτοῦ
τὴν Μαρίαν
<div align="right">ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.27–8</div>

ἐρμάσαν τὴν μὲ τὸν ἀφέντην <u>τὸν Μανουὴλ τὸν Κατακουζηνὸν</u>, τὸν δεσπότην τοῦ
Μορέως
<div align="right">16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 58.33–4</div>

while the latter option requires only a single article to determine the name as a whole:

ἔτεκαν παῖδα θαυμαστόν, <u>τὸν Διγενὴν Ἀκρίτην</u>
<div align="right">15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 219</div>

ἀπὸ κεῖ ἔστειλε 'ς <u>τὸν Ἰωάννη βασιλέα Παλαιολόγο</u> ὅτι …
<div align="right">17th c., Chron. Tourk. Soult. 25.11</div>

(iii) Titles too may be treated either as referring expressions in their own right with the following name(s)/description(s) in apposition, or simply as part of the following name(s).

The appositive structure is more usual, and is regularly employed when the second element is further modified; the article is occasionally omitted from the antecedent/title:

ὥρᾳ δ' τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκοιμήθη <u>ὁ αυθέντης ὁ κὺρ ὁ κούντης ὁ σιρ Τούμας τὲ Μόρφ</u>
<div align="right">1388, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 101, 99.1–3</div>

ἐξέβη <u>ἀμιράλλ(ης)</u> ὁ σιρ Πιὲρ ντὲ Καφρὰ ἀπὲ τὴν Λευκωσίαν νὰ πάγῃ στὴν
Γένουβα διὰ τὸν υἱὸν <u>τοῦ ἀφέντη μας τοῦ ρηγὸς τοῦ ρὲ Τζάκ</u>
<div align="right">1390, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 11, 89.1–3</div>

μὲ τὸν μακαρίτην <u>τὸν αὐθέντην τὸν πατέρα τους</u> ἐσυντύχαμεν περὶ τούτου
<div align="right">1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.11–12</div>

The second option often involves titles with a colloquial quality, though this does not preclude their use in official documents; the article is sometimes omitted (as with names in general):

<u>μισὶρ Ντζεφρές</u>, ὡς φρόνιμος, παρηγορᾷ τὸν κόντον
<div align="right">14th c., Chron. Mor. H 177</div>

<u>ὁ μισὶρ Ντζεφρές</u>, ὡς φρόνιμος ὅπου ἦτον, ἄρχισε νὰ τὸν παρηγορᾷ
<div align="right">14th c., Chron. Mor. H 188–9</div>

ἐν μηνὶ αὐγούστῳ ἀπέθανε καὶ <u>ἡ δέσποινα κυρὰ Ἄννα</u>
<div align="right">15th c., SFRANTZIS, Chron. 12.22</div>

ἐρωτήξαμεν <u>παπὰ κὺρ Γαβρὴλ</u>
<div align="right">1528, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 53, 173.47</div>

<u>ὁ κὺρ Χατζῆς πεθερός μου</u> σοῦ ἄφησε χρόνια εἰς τὴν Καβάγια
<div align="right">1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 6, 213.10–11</div>

8 Constituent Order

8.1 General Principles

As a matter of grammatical rule, it is assumed here that sentences in LMedG/EMG comprise a subject NP and a predicate VP in that order. But the *actual* order of constituents in a given sentence is to a large extent determined by the way in which a writer organizes and presents the information contained within it in order to articulate the structure of the larger discourse. In practice, therefore, once the fundamental syntactico-semantic requirements are met (i.e. through the presence of a subject, expressed or understood, and a predicate, optionally in combination with one or more adjuncts), the linear sequencing of constituents is largely controlled by considerations of "topic" and "focus".

These concepts have been defined in a variety of ways, making reference to prosodic, pragmatic, semantic and/or syntactic factors. Constituents in LMedG/EMG clauses could almost certainly be marked as topical or focal simply by the choice of appropriate prosodic properties. But these factors are no longer accessible to us, though plausible inferences might be made from MG, e.g. that foci were assigned a high level of stress. Topics and foci are therefore identified here by virtue of their *syntactic* prominence, i.e. relocation to positions specifically associated with discourse functions (see below). Functionally, topics establish or re-establish a "theme" (something familiar from the preceding discourse, mutual knowledge or general cultural awareness), which is then commented on by the remainder of the following sentence. Foci, by contrast, identify the most salient, i.e. emphatic or contrastive, piece of information within a particular sentence. When both elements are present, the focus identifies the most salient information within the comment on the topic, thus making a topicalized element structurally more peripheral than a focalized one, cf. [$_{TOP}$ *in Medieval Greek*], [$_{FOC}$ *it's the syntax*] *people find hardest*.

Positions at the left periphery of LMedG/EMG phrases and clauses are structurally prominent and may attract phrasal topics and foci; in clauses there is also a topic position beyond the clause boundary (see Rule (91)). The *informationally* most neutral order of constituents in LMedG/EMG sentences with overt subjects is perhaps V(erb) S(ubject) O(bject(s)), where the fronting of the verb over the subject indicates that the sentence introduces a proposition in which none of its phrasal constituents is given any special prominence (= "something happened": though V may be understood focally if appropriately stressed):

(ἐν τούτῳ) ἐπαράλαβεν ὁ Ροῦσος τὸ μπαΐλᾶτο   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7933

But it is often more natural to identify specific elements as providing some form of linkage to, or contrast with, the previous discourse: [VO]S order, for example, is the result of either topicalizing or focalizing the Verb Phrase by preposing it to the beginning of the

sentence, making the subject correspondingly either salient ("[$_{TOP}$ the one who VO] was *S*") or thematic ("[$_{FOC}$ it was *VO*] that S did") according to the demands of the context. In the following, for example, the preposed VP is topical, and the subject correspondingly salient:

ὁ βασιλέας τὸν ἔστελνεν … τὸν τόπον ὅλον τοῦ Μορέως νὰ τὸν ἔχῃ κερδίσει, κι ἂν
μάθῃ ὅτι [ἐκέρδισαν τὸν πόλεμον] οἱ Φράγκοι … πῶς νὰ τὸν ἀποδέξεται … ;

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4894–8

Since, however, the grammatically determined order of constituents is Subject + Predicate, with subjects standing preverbally prior to any informationally-driven reordering, it may be unclear in specific cases whether actual "preposing" of the subject has taken place when it is interpreted as topical or focal in context.

Whenever a phrase of any type (represented as XP below) is focalized, the verb is standardly "attracted" to it and the subject (if not itself the focalized item) appears postverbally, giving *XP*-V-S (cf. "*never* have~I seen … "). There is also attraction of the verb to preposed interrogative and relative adverbs or pronouns (cf. "*what* have~you done?", cf. 1.4.1 and 5.3.3) and, in subordinate clauses, to many conjunctions and complementizers (subject to various conditions and limitations, see below and cf. Chapters 2 and 3). Attraction of the verb is not required, however, in the case of topics.

8.1.1 Topicalization

(91) Topicality in MedG/EMG may be marked by "left-dislocation", i.e. by placing a topic in a position beyond the left periphery of a clause and marking its lack of structural integration with a pause, usually represented graphically by a comma; when the topic is nominal, a referentially resumptive pronoun is normal in the following clause.

Left-dislocated topics are typically used to establish or re-establish an entity as the current discourse theme and to initiate discussion of it. They may be thought of in terms of the schema [XP$_i$], [$_S$ … (*pro$_i$*) …], where *pro* is an element anaphoric to the left-dislocated XP, expressing the "aboutness" link between the two elements. In the case of non-NP topics *pro* is usually null, but with NP topics it usually takes the form of a "resumptive" pronoun, e.g. *(as for) Medieval Greek, I really like (it)*. With the passage of time, clitic pronouns become increasingly standard in this construction, and are inflected according to their grammatical function in the clause (usually direct or indirect object); but demonstratives are also used, and in the absence of suitable nominative clitics, topicalized subjects are often "resumed" in this way.

Left-dislocated NPs typically reflect the properties of *pro* in (person), number, gender and case, though they are also sometimes inflected in the nominative instead (*nominativus pendens*), perhaps in recognition of their "external", subject-like status with respect to the following comment. Verbs are not attracted grammatically to left-dislocated topics, and adjacency of the verb in these structures is pragmatically motivated.

τὰ ὄντα φανερὰ καὶ μὴ ἔχοντα ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπό τινος οἱανδήποτε ἀντιλογίαν, ἐκεῖνα καὶ
λέγω καὶ γράφω ἀφόβως μετὰ πληροφορίας   12th c./11th c., ΝΙΚΟΝ, *Logos* 9 314.18–19

ἡ πίστις ἡ ἀληθινή, οἱ Χριστιανοὶ <u>τὴν</u> ἔχουν   15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 553

μίαν ἀπὸ τὰς πρόκριτας εἰς ἣν ἐθάρρει πλέον, παρήγγειλεν [*pro*] ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς
    ὅλους νὰ προλάβει   ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.3r.9–11

ἡ παρθένος Μαρία τε Λουζουνία κόρη τοῦ κυροῦ τοῦ Στύρου, ἐρμάσαν <u>την</u> μὲ τὸν
    ἀφέντην τὸν Μανουήλ   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 58.32–3

ὅ,τι ἄρχισε, ἐμένα ποτὲ δὲ μοῦ <u>τὸ</u> ἐμολόγησε!   16th c., *Nov. I* 156.21

<u>ἕνας</u> δὲ ἀπὸ τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ βασιλέως, … <u>ἐτοῦτος</u> … παρευθὺς ἀπαντονάρισεν
    ὅλες τὲς πρόσκαιρες δόξες   17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 33.2–7

σ' ἴντα στάτο εὑρίσκεται, κιανεὶς δὲν <u>τὸ</u> γνωρίζει
                          18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.34

**(92) "Simple topics" are attached to the left periphery of a clause or VP and are
relatively brief expressions (usually single phrases) that allow no pause before
the following comment; clitic pronouns are obligatory with accusative or
genitive NP topics (resulting in "clitic doubling"), which distinguishes the
construction clearly from focalization (see Rule (93)).**

Such non-dislocated topics are typically used to establish or re-establish an already "active"
participant as the central theme of the discourse (they are therefore normally definite and
may contrast with what precedes), and then to continue or resume discussion of it. Unlike
left-dislocated topics, they are structurally integrated phrases at the left periphery of S or VP;
for the latter, consider the following example, where the subject ὁ θεός precedes the topic:

ὁ θεός [$_{TOP}$ <u>τὴν καρδίαν σου</u>] [$_{VP}$ νὰ <u>τὴν</u> πλατύνῃ], καὶ [$_{TOP}$ <u>τὴν χώραν σου</u>] [$_{VP}$ εἰς
τὸ ἓν ἑκατὸν νὰ <u>τὴν</u> ποιήσῃ], καὶ [$_{TOP}$ <u>τὸ σπαθίν σου</u>] [$_{VP}$ εἰς τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου
φοβερὸν νὰ <u>τὸ</u> ποιήσῃ].   1349, Egypt, SCHOPEN/NIEBUHR 1832: IV.14, 98.22–4

Agreement of the topic with the clitic in case (as well as number and gender) is normal,
though not quite a requirement, as "hanging nominatives" are occasionally attested in more
colloquial texts (unless these are better treated as cases of left-dislocation). Attraction of
the verb to a topic at the clause periphery is not grammatically required and adjacency in
such cases is again a purely pragmatic matter.

ὁ βασιλέας τὸν ἔστελνεν … [<u>τὸν τόπον ὅλον τοῦ Μορέως</u>] νὰ <u>τὸν</u> ἔχῃ κερδίσει
                           14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4894–5

εἰ μὲν συμβῇ [<u>ὁ ἀφέντης του</u>] ὁ ἐχτρός του νὰ <u>τὸν</u> πιάσῃ … νὰ τὸν ζητήσῃ ὁ ἀφέντης
    του καὶ νὰ τὸν ἀνακράξῃ   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7572–4

[<u>τὰ ἀλλάγια ταῦτα</u>] ποῖσε <u>τα</u>   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 6906

Ὀδυσσεὺς ὁ θαυμαστὸς μετὰ τοὺς Ἀχαῖτας [<u>τοὺς Τρῶας</u>] ἐτροπεῦσαν <u>τους</u>, ἐδίωξαν
    <u>τους</u>, ὑπάγουν   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 3911–12

ὁ σὶρ Σιμοὺν τε Μουντολίφ ὁ καβαλλάρης [<u>τὸν κύρην τῆς Τύρου</u>] ἐσφάξεν <u>τον</u> εἰς τὴν
    ἀναπάν   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 58.25–7

ὁ πόθος τῆς φιλαργυρίας ἀναγκάζει τους νὰ γυρεύγουν καθημερινὸν τὲς ἀφορμὲς [<u>τὸν</u>
    <u>πλοῦτόν τους</u>] πῶς νὰ <u>τὸν</u> αὐξάνουσιν   16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 7–9

NOTES

(i) Maintenance, or sometimes reduction, of the thematic salience of an entity may also
be effected by "clitic doubling", again without a pause between the NP object and the
clitic–verb combination, but in this case the object (always definite) remains in place
to the *right* of V within VP:

ἐδέσποζές <u>το</u> [<u>τὸ βεργίν</u>], καὶ μόνη σου νὰ τό 'χῃς   16th c./13th–14th c., *Velth.* 585

κι οὐδὲν <u>μᾶς</u> ἄφηκες [<u>ἐμᾶς</u>] νὰ ἔχωμεν πολεμήσει   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5121

ἐπῆραν καταπάνω τους, τροπεύουν <u>τους</u> [<u>τοὺς Τρῶας</u>]   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 3723

καὶ ἂν <u>μὲ</u> πιστεύητε [<u>ἐμέν</u>], ὣς ἔνι Ἀγαμέμνων   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 8469

(ii) "Right dislocation" is closely related in function, with the difference that the intended
referent of a potentially autonomous clitic pronoun is clarified by an appositional
NP located beyond the right periphery of the clause, rather as an afterthought (cf.
7.2.2); such right-dislocated items were separated from what precedes by a slight
pause, though this is not normally marked graphically; note in particular that the
caesura typically precedes them in verse texts, and that parenthetical material (e.g.
interjections) sometimes intervenes:

ἀφήνω, παρατρέχων <u>τα</u> / [<u>τὰ τότε λαληθέντα</u>]   15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 3870

ἀπόκρισιν <u>τοὺς</u> ἔδωκεν / [<u>ἀμφοτέρων τῶν δύο</u>]   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3402

καὶ κονταρέαν <u>τὸν</u> ἔδωκεν, / ἀιλί, [<u>τὸν Μαργαρίτην</u>]   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 6862

καὶ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς <u>τὴν</u> ἔλεγεν / [<u>τὴν ἡλιογεννημένην</u>]   15th–16th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 1356

8.1.2   Focalization

**(93) Focalization may be effected by preposing a phrasal constituent to the left-
peripheral position within a clause or phrase; clitic doubling is not allowed
(see Rule (92)) and the verb is routinely attracted to the focal element.**

Unlike simple topics, foci are contained within, rather than attached to, the associated
phrase or clause; this guarantees that they will always stand within the scope of a topic if
both items are present. Since they emphasize, contrast or correct ("*XP* is who/what/where/
when [$_s$ …]"), it may be assumed that the key element of a focalized phrase was assigned
a higher level of stress than that of non-focalized elements.

    In verse texts the frequency of focal preposing is very high, especially that of dependent
genitives within NPs, and we must assume that in this specialized literary context the more
"marked" construction was often understood as a more or less free variant of the basic one.
Consider the following, very typical example:

[[τοῦ κόσμου γὰρ] τὴν ἡδονὴν] ἤθελαν κι ἀγαποῦσαν   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3171

In the context of a list of the Franks who built castles as a symbol of their new power, no
necessary emphasis or contrast seems to be attached either to the head of the preposed ob-
ject NP (τὴν ἡδονήν) or to the preposed genitive NP within it (τοῦ κόσμου); the sentence

seems simply to give a reason why they built their castles: "(for) they wanted and adored the pleasure(s) of the world" (though perhaps they wanted their pleasures now rather than to take their chances in the afterlife). "Focalization" will continue to be used to describe the relevant syntactic phenomenon, but it should be borne in mind that in some contexts there may be no special informational salience.

Focalization in Clauses

μὴ τολμήσῃ … μαρτυρήσειν … ὅτι [εἰς τὸν κόσμον] ἐμολύνθην
                          12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 31 812.31–2

[τὸν δὲ πατριάρχην] ἔγραψεν αὐστηρὰς γραφάς
                          12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 31 822.33–4

[τὸ ἀνωειρημένον προυκίον] δίδει ὁ ἀνωειρημένος κὺρ Ἰωάννη Κουβαρᾶς τῆς
ἐγκόνης του   1496, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 1, 48.23–4

[μὲ ξύλα καὶ μὲ λιθάρια] ἐσκότωναν τὸ φουσάτον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου
                          16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 20.14 (Konstantinopulos)

ἦτον … ἄσχημος τόσον, ὅτι [καμίαν καλοσύνην ἢ ἰσότητα] δὲν εἶχεν τὸ κορμίν του
                          16th c., *Vios Aisop.* K 147.7–8

νὰ πάρῃ ὁ κὺρ Μανόλης τὸ ἥμισον …, καὶ [τὸ ἕτερον ἥμισον] νὰ πάρῃ ἡ λεγομένη
κερὰ Θεόκλητη   1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.23–4

Focalization in Phrases

ἡμεῖς [VP [οἰκείαις χερσὶν ἡμῶν] ἐδώκαμεν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἄχραντα εὐαγγέλια αὐτοῦ]
                          1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 208–9.20–1

τὸν ἐκράτει ὁ βασιλέας [ADVP [εἰς φυλακὴν του] ἀπέσω]   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7969

ἀκομὴ καὶ [NP [τῶν ντεμπιτόρων] τὰ δινέρια]
                          1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: Inv. 3, 287.48

ἦτον … [ADJP [ἄσχημος] τόσον], ὅτι   16th c., *Vios Aisop.* K 147.7

8.2   Clitic Pronouns and the Verbal Complex

In general, clitics immediately follow the head that governs them:

AdvP: πῶς ἥπλωσας ἐπάνω μου;   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 145

NP: νά το, παιδί μου, ἀγόρασε χορδόκοιλα δουκάτον
                          15th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 117 app. crit. (P)

AdjP: ὅμως νὰ δικολογηθῶ μὲ ὅμοιόν μου ζῷον   15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 824

Verbs, however, show a more complex pattern of clitic distribution that requires reference to the notion of the "verbal complex" (VC), in which mood and negative markers, if present in a sentence, cliticize to the verbs they modify and form a structured unit that cannot normally be interrupted by other elements:

Mood Marker [ἵνα/νά, ἄς]	> Negative [μή(ν)]	> V$_{\text{subjunctive/past indicative}}$
	Negative [μή(ν)]	> V$_{\text{imperative}}$
	Negative [οὐ(κ), (οὐ)δέν]	> V$_{\text{indicative/gerund}}$

(The future marker θὲ + νά > θά is a late addition to LMedG/EMG (Chapter 1, Rule (6) NOTE (vii)), and is omitted.)

Indicatives, whether as lexical verbs or as auxiliaries, may take a ἵνα/νά-complement (cf. θέλω ἵνα/νά = "I want to X" or "I will/shall X": θὲ νά > θά represents the formal reduction of such a structure); only one of the two verbs can then be negated, and in periphrases this can only be the auxiliary. Items other than V are present only when their contribution is required for semantic or syntactic reasons, and even the otherwise obligatory mood marker ἵνα/νά is not required with μή(ν) in prohibitions containing subjunctives (1.3, Rule (14)) or with conjunctions like (ἐ)άν/ὅταν in generic/future-referring clauses containing subjunctive verbs (3.3.1 and 3.4.3). V is therefore often the initial, and indeed only, element in the VC of a given sentence.

As noted above, a preposed focal (FOC), interrogative (Q) or relative (REL) constituent regularly "attracts" the verb along with any associated items of the VC (leaving overt subjects in post-verbal position):

FOC/Q/REL +	[MM > μή(ν) > V] … NP$_{\text{subj}}$
	[οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν > V] … NP$_{\text{subj}}$

"Modal" conjunctions, i.e. those like (ἐ)άν/ὅταν that do not require the co-presence of ἵνα/νά with subjunctive verb forms, also attract V in most cases. This began in generic/future-referring clauses containing subjunctive verbs, but more general attraction of V developed early with these conjunctions, even in past- or present-time contexts with non-modal verb forms. Later, non-modal conjunctions and complementizers such as ὅτι, πώς etc. started to follow the pattern, albeit more sporadically, with "traditional" ὅτι showing significantly more resistance than "innovative" πώς.

Clitic pronouns intersect with the VC and constitute the one major exception to the rule that its components cannot be separated one from another.

(94) An object clitic stands immediately adjacent to the verb that governs it:

(i) if V is initial in VC and nothing precedes (i.e. within VP or S as appropriate), the clitic follows V;

(ii) if V is initial in VC but other constituents precede (i.e. within VP or S as appropriate), the clitic precedes V;

(iii) if V is non-initial in VC, the clitic precedes V.

The basic rule for most of the period covered by this Grammar is that clitics cannot stand before a verb in VP-initial or clause-initial position but may appear before a verb when something else precedes *them*, whether other elements of the VC or, when the VC comprises V alone, co-constituents of the relevant containing category.

This requirement is further shaped by the general principle that clitics standardly appear in "second position" in a containing phrase or clause, a principle ("Wackernagel's Law") that had continued into MedG from Antiquity. Since clitics must be adjacent to the verb, and since clitics normally stand in second position in a VP or clause, it follows that a VC containing only V will typically be either the first item in VP or S, with a following clitic, or the third item in VP or S, with a preceding clitic.

The position of a clitic vis-à-vis a verb that stands alone in its VC is therefore determined by what counts as a "preceding", i.e. effectively phrase- or clause-initial, constituent for the purposes of clitic placement:

- The set of left-peripheral constituents that routinely attract the verb, namely focal elements, question words/phrases, relative pronouns/complementizers and "modal" complementizers, are regularly counted as initial items for the purposes of clitic placement:

$$[_{S/VP} \; X(P) \; cl+V \; ...]$$

- Non-modal conjunctions and complementizers may be treated either as the initial elements of clauses (with attraction of V) or as elements that introduce clauses but are not themselves part of them (without attraction of V). The result is variation in the placement of the clitic with respect to V, though the clitic itself remains second in the clause in both cases; in general, traditional complementizers and conjunctions (C), e.g. ὅτι *vs.* πῶς, εἰ *vs.* (ἐ)άν etc., resist inclusion in the clause much more strongly:

C included: $[_S \; C \; [cl+V] \; ...]$
C excluded: $C \; [_S \; [V+cl] \; ...]$

- Subjects are regularly adjacent to the VC (the initial item in VP) but do not themselves attract the verb; in the absence of items that can attract it, V therefore remains in place as the head of VP or is fronted over the subject (see 8.1). In combination with a subject, a VC containing only V can satisfy the requirements of clitic placement in two ways: either V stands initially in VP and the clitic follows in second (phrasal) position, or the subject is counted as the first clausal constituent and the clitic precedes V in second (clausal) position:

Second position in VP: $[_S \; NP_{SUBJ} \; [_{VP} \; V+cl \; ...]]$
Second position in clause: $[_S \; NP_{SUBJ} \; [_{VP} \; cl+V \; ...]]$

- Standardly, simple topics are attached to the left periphery of S or VP and do not attract V. They do not therefore count as the initial elements of these categories, and clitics follow an initial V. From around the 16th c., however, simple topics also come to be treated as initial items, with the clitic then following before V; this development is again associated with attraction, which guarantees that the topic and its clitic double will be adjacent:

Topic attached: $[NP_{TOP} \; [_{S/VP} \; V+cl \; ...]]$
Topic included: $[_{S/VP} \; NP_{TOP} \; cl+V \; ...]$

- The least integrated elements of a sentence (such as left-dislocated topics and non-focal adverbial adjuncts, including adverbial clauses) do not normally attract V or count as initial elements for the purposes of clitic placement. The clause proper therefore begins with whatever comes after such items, and if this is V, the clitic then follows:

$$XP_{TOP}/ADVP/S_{ADV}, \; [_S \; V+cl \; ...]$$

But "linking" adverbials (ADVP$_L$), i.e. those with demonstrative/anaphoric force or that denote a place, time, reason etc. that connects the sentence to the preceding discourse, begin to count as clause-initial and attract the verb quite early, with the clitic then preceding V; adverbial clauses (S$_{ADV}$) and left-dislocated topics (XP$_{TOP}$) start to be drawn into this pattern from around the 16th c.:

$$[_S \; XP_{TOP}/S_{ADV}/ADVP_L, \; cl+V \; ...]$$

Wherever a choice is available, the frequency of the preverbal option increases over time, albeit with some delay in southern and more peripheral regions; in Cyprus, however, the earlier medieval patterns of clitic placement are largely preserved even in the modern dialect. But both clitic positions remain in play in LMedG and the freedom is particularly valuable in verse texts, where it provides different metrical possibilities.

In SMG (and most modern dialects) pre-V position has been generalized with indicatives, even though this results in clause-initial/phrase-initial clitics. Such extension of the pre-verbal option must have begun in the early 16th c. with the progressive shift in the status of various elements that literally "began" sentences but had not previously counted as "initial" for the purposes of clitic placement. As these came to be included among the set of legitimate initial items, clitics then followed in "second position" before the verb. Consider, for example, sentences with left-dislocated, or perhaps simple, topics (the distinction may be hard to make when a topicalized phrase contains modifiers):

<u>τὰ ὀσπήτιά της</u> τὰ πατρικά (,) <u>τὰ ἔκαμε</u> μοναστήριον γυναικεῖον
1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 16.1–2

<u>τὸ πέρα νεόκαστρο τοῦ Ναυπάκτου</u> (,) <u>τὸ ἐπολέμησε</u> καὶ ἐπῆρέ το ἀπὸ σπαθίου
16th c., Constantinople, SCHREINER 1975/79: 63A, 484.10.1–3

Given the grammatical optionality of the material to their left, these clitics could now reasonably be seen as "initial" in their clauses, with initial pre-V position then quickly generalized to clauses without left-peripheral constituents. Early examples include:

<u>τοὺς δίνουν</u> τὸν μόλον εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ ρεπάρου κατὰ τὰ παλαιὰ μακελλειά
1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 35.10–11

<u>σὲ παρακαλοῦμε</u> νὰ εἴμεστεν Φράγκοι λίμπεροι
1571, Mani, CHASIOTIS 1970: 6.1, 242.41–2

8.2.1   V Initial in VC

No Preceding Constituents: V+cl

<u>ἔγραψές με</u>, περὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς ἵνα σε γράψω τὴν εἴδησιν

12th c./11th c., Νικον, *Logos* 4 212.29

ὡς ὄρνεον πετάζεται, <u>δοκοῦν τον</u> ὅλα ὁμάλιν   13th c./12th c., Glykas, *Stichoi* 129

<u>βλέπουν σε</u> τὰ ψυχάρια μου καὶ <u>ἔχουν σε</u> ὡς αὐθέντην   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 88

νὰ σὲ δώσουν ἐκ τῆς γιστέρνας τὸ νερόν, <u>χρήζω το</u> διὰ ἰατρείαν μου

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8211–12

ὁρίζει γὰρ καὶ <u>εἶπε τον</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4563

<u>ἐπῆρεν το</u> ὁ ἕβδομος ἄνθρωπος   post 1427, Unknown, Hunger/Vogel 1963: 38, 34.4

καὶ <u>ψηλαφώντας την</u> ἡ βλέπει   16th c., Kartanos, *P&N Diath.* 329.35

πρόβαλε, <u>δῶσ' τωνε</u> τὸ φῶς, σὰν ἤσου μαθημένη   17th c./16th c., Chortatsis, *Katz.* I.15

Focal, Interrogative or Relative Elements Preceding: (cl+V)

Focal

τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον <u>μοι εἶπαν</u> καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι ἄρχοντες

1136?/1151?, Sicily, Cusa 1868/82: Coll. IX: 19, 419.5

πολλὰ <u>τὸν ἔχω</u> εὐκαιρητὴν ἐκεῖνον τὸν γονέαν ὁποῦ

13th c./12th c., Glykas, *Stichoi* 208–9

ὅρκον <u>σε δίδω</u> εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν δέσποιναν Θεοτόκον, ὅτι

1360, Constantinople, Koder et al. 2001: 236, 362.18–20

λεπτομερῶς <u>τοῦ ἐμήνυσεν</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7825

τοῦ Βαλδουῆ <u>τὸ ἔποικαν</u> τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Πόλης   16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 1098

τὴν χάριν σου <u>μ' ἀπόστειλε</u> ἐτούτην τὴν ἡμέρα   15th c., Choumnos, *Kosmog.* 2

λέγοντες ... καὶ ὅτι τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν <u>τοῦ ἐπαρέδωκε</u>

16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 107–9

Interrogative

κύρι, πῶς <u>τὸ λέγεις</u>;   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 44

ποῖον ἱμάτιον <u>μὲ ἔρραψας</u>; ποιὸν δίμιτον <u>μὲ ἐποῖκες</u>;   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 46

πῶς νὰ εὕρω <u>μ' ἑρμήνευσε</u> τῆς Δυστυχίας τὸ κάστρο

14th c./13th–14th c., *Log. parig.* L 123

ἐκάτζα καὶ ἐξηγήθην του ... πῶς <u>τὴν ἐχαιρέτησα</u> καὶ πῶς <u>μὲ ἀπηλογήθη</u>

15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 3778–9

καὶ ἄκου τὸ τί <u>μοῦ ἐσύντυχεν</u>   16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 28

ἀπὸ ποῦ <u>τοῦ ἦλθαν</u> ἐτοῦτα ἐτουτουνοῦ;   17th c., Kallioup., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 6.2

ποῖος <u>τὸ κύτταξε</u> τὸ σιδηρόσυρμα;   1696, Ochrid, Mertzios 1947a: 9, 214.11

Relative

τὸ ράσον τὸ <u>σὲ δίδουσιν</u> καὶ ἐκεῖνο ψυχικόν ἐνι

14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. IV* 472.1 app. crit. (H)

σὲ παρακαλοῦν ... μὴ τὸ δεχτῇς εἰς βάρος σου ἐτοῦτο ὅπου <u>σὲ λέγουν</u>

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7902–3

τὸ ὡραιόκαρπον ὁ Θεὸς ὁποῦ <u>σᾶς λέγει</u>, δένδρον τὸ ὑψηλότατον ὁποῦ <u>σᾶς εἶπε</u>
φεύγειν, φάγε καὶ δὸς καὶ τοῦ Ἀδάμ   15th c., Choumnos, *Kosmog.* 69–71

εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ... ἐσέβη ὁ Ματθίας ὅπου <u>τοῦ ἔπεσεν</u> ὁ κλῆρος

16th c., Sanktam., *Praxeis apost.* 15.8–9

ἀφήνει ... τὸ ἀέρε τοῦ Κωσταντῆ τοῦ σπιτιοῦ, τοῦ ὁποίου <u>τοῦ τὸ εἶχεν δώσει</u> ἡ
αὐτὴ προικίο   1587, Cythera, Charou-Koronaiou/Drakakis 2010: 145, 115.9–11

ἐβουλεύθη κακὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὅπου <u>τὸν ἀνάθρεψεν</u>   16th c., Dionys., *Istor.* 252.13

NOTES

(i) Imperatives normally follow the general rule, cf. δῶσ' τωνε (Chortatsis, *Katz.* I.15) with τὴν χάριν σου μ' ἀπόστειλε (Choumnos, *Kosmog.* 2) above, but those with a preceding constituent occasionally retain the order V + cl:

μεγαλοψύχως <u>δέξαι με</u>   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. II* 19.6 app. crit. (H)

(ii) There are no examples in the database of gerunds with preverbal clitics as these always stand initially in their respective phrases/clauses.

"Modal" Conjunctions Preceding (both modal and non-modal verbs): cl+V

ἐξ ἀρχῆς πολλὰ ἠντεστάθην, ὅταν <u>τὸ ἤκουσα</u>   12th c./11th c., Nikon, *Logos* 9 314.5–6

καὶ ἂν <u>μ' εὕρῃς</u> χρώμενον κακῶς εἰς ταῦτα τὰ μὲ δίδεις, τότε καὶ κατονείδιζε

14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. II* 67–8

ἂν <u>μὲ ἔποισαν</u> τεχνίτην, ... νὰ ἔμαθα τέχνην κλαπωτὴν   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 89–91

καὶ πρὶν <u>τὸ πιάσω</u> χάνεται καὶ φεύγει ἐκ τὸ σκουτέλλιν

14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. IV* 242

καὶ ἀπέκει, ὅταν <u>τοὺς εἴπῃ</u> ἐκεῖνος, νὰ σηκωθῶσιν

1465, Rome, Lambros 1930: 287.17–18

ὅταν <u>σὲ ταχθοῦν</u> σιτάριν, τὸ σακί σου καὶ τρέχε   16th c./?, *Paroim.* H 53 app. crit.

ἂν <u>τὸν πάρῃ</u>, θέλ' εἶσται ἀφορισμένη   16th c./15th c., Voustr., *Chron.* A 34.3–4

NOTE

(i) The presence of καί with "modal" (and indeed other) conjunctions normally blocks attraction:

φοβούμενη μήπως καὶ <u>καλέσῃ τηνε</u> ὁ Θ(εό)ς   1596, Crete, Chaireti 1969: 1, 164.5–6

ἀνίσως καὶ <u>βάλουν τα</u> τὰ περισσότερα τορνέσα ἀπὸ 'κεῖνα ..., ὁμπλεγάρεται ...
νὰ τὰ δίδῃ τῶν ἄνωθεν πουλητάδω

1600, Crete, Bakker/Van Gemert 1987: 82, 99.10–11

"Non-modal" Conjunctions/Complementizers Preceding: V+cl and cl+V

V+cl

ἔξω λέγεις ὅτι <u>ἔχεις με</u> παιδίν   1360, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 236, 362.14–15

κ' εἶπεν ὅτι <u>ὠφελεῖ με</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8213

ἀλλ' ὅτε <u>εὗρουν σε</u> μικρὸν πταίσιμον εἰς τὸ σπίτι καὶ κλέψῃς τίποτα νὰ φᾷς
    15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 220–1 app. crit. (C)

ἐτοῦτο τὸ παρὸν ψαλτήριον ἔνι τοῦ κὺρ παπᾶ Ἰωάννου ... ὅτι <u>ἐγόρασά το</u> ἀπὸ τὴν
    Λευκωσίαν   15th c., Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 91, n. 1.1–2

ὁ νοῦς μου οὐδὲν ἔναι μετ' ἐμέναν, ὄχι διὰ ζημίαν ἀμὴ διὰ τὰ παιδία, ὅτι <u>ἀγαπῶ τα</u>
    15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 102.20

νὰ γλυώσω τὸν ἄθρωπο ὃς ἔπλασα ... ὅτι ἐμετάνοιωσα ὅτι <u>ἔκαμά τους</u>
    16th c., *Pent.* Gen. 6.7

φέρε μού το σπουδαχτικὰ στὸ σπίτι μας, γιατὶ <u>ἀντιμεύγω σού το</u>
    17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* III.149–50

NOTE

(i) The absence of πώς from this set of examples is probably not accidental, and indicative of the extent to which such "innovative" non-modal conjunctions had been assimilated to the distribution of modal ones.

cl+V

ὅτε καὶ <u>μὲ ἔλαβεν</u> εἰς νόμιμον γυνὴν εἰς τὴν χώραν Ραγούσας
    1171, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VII: 4, 362.9–363.1

κι ὁ ῥῆγας, ὡς <u>τὸ ἤκουσεν</u>, μεγάλως τὸ ἐλυπήθην   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7827

νὰ σὲ δώσουν ἐκ τῆς γιστέρνας τὸ νερόν, ... διατὶ <u>μὲ τὸ ὥρισε</u> ὁ ἰατρὸς κ' εἶπεν ὅτι
    ὠφελεῖ με   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8211–13

νὰ ἠξεύρετε ὅτι <u>μᾶς ἔστειλεν</u> ὁ μέγας αὐθέντης   1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.8–9

ὥσπερ <u>τὸ λέγει</u> ὁ ἅγιος Ἀμβρόσιος ὁ Μεδιολάνων εἰς τὸ χρονικό του
    16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.39–40

καὶ ἐξεθύμανεν εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας, πῶς <u>τὲς ἄφησαν</u> καὶ ἔκαμαν τοιοῦτον μέγα
    πρᾶγμα   16th c., *Martyr. Vlas.* 247.12–13

καὶ λὲν πῶς <u>τό 'χει</u> φυσικὸ ν' ἀδυναμίσῃ τόσα   18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.36

Subjects Preceding: V+cl and cl+V

V+cl

καὶ ὁ φόβος <u>ἐξυπνᾷ σε</u>   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 170

ὡς ἐκατεστάθησαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν μας, ὁ Θεὸς <u>ἐλευθερώσῃ σε</u>
    13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 215–16

διατὶ ὁ νόμος <u>λέγει το</u> καὶ ἡ φύσις ἀπαιτεῖ το   13th–14th c./?12th c., *Spaneas* P 165

ἐγὼ θεωρῶ ὀφθαλμοφανῶς, ὁ ῥῆγας <u>ἀγαπᾷ σας</u>, κ' <u>ἔχει σας</u> εἰς προσορώτησιν κ' εἰς
    τὴν βουλήν του πρώτους   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8517–18

ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Πρίαμος <u>μηνᾷ σε</u> μετ' ἐμένα   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1366

ὁ σουλτάνος <u>ἀπολογήθην του</u> καὶ <u>'μήνυσέν του</u> μὲ τοὺς δυό του μαντατοφόρους
    16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.26–7

μοναῦτα ὁ πατέρας της <u>ἐπῆρέν την</u> εἰς τὸ σπίτιν του με μεγάλην λύπην
    16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 6.8–9

cl+V

ἐγὼ ψοφῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι <u>μὲ σπαστρεύουν</u>   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 393

ἀτός του ὁ μισὶρ Ντζεφρὲς <u>τοῦ ἔδωκεν</u> τὰ πιττάκια   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 328

καὶ ἡ βουλή του <u>τοῦ εἴπασιν</u> τοῦ νὰ ἔχῃ ἀποστελει ἄνθρωπον φρονιμώτατον
    14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7831–2

τὸ θράσος <u>τὸ ἐνίκησεν</u>, πηδᾷ, καβαλικεύει   16th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 79

καὶ ἡ Θεοτόκος <u>τῆς λέγει</u>   16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 331.5

τινὲς εἶπαν ὅτι ὁ Πατριάρχης <u>τοῦ ἐπαρήγγειλε</u> νὰ ὑπάγῃ διὰ βοήθεια
    16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 70

ἐξέβα ἔξω, ὅτι ὁ βασιλεύς <u>σε καλεῖ</u>!   16th c., *Martyr. Vlas.* 245.16

ἀμμὴ οἱ Ρωμαῖοι <u>τὸ λέγουσι</u> ἀλλέως   17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 27.22

Simple Topics Preceding: V+cl and (later) cl+V

V+cl (standard)

ψυχή μου, μακροθύμησον, τὸν κόσμον <u>ἔμαθές τον</u>   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 308

τοὺς Τρῶας <u>ἐτροπεῦσαν τους, ἐδιῶξαν τους</u>, ὑπάγουν   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 3912

αὐτὰ οὖν ὅλα <u>ἐνθυμᾶσθέ τα</u> νὰ τοὺς νουθετήσετε καὶ νὰ τοὺς παιδεύσετε καλά
    1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.22–288.1

τὸν Θούμαν <u>ἔφερέν τον</u> μετὰ της ἡ κυρὰ ἡ ῥήγαινα, ἡ Ελένα
    16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 4.18–19

καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καβαλλάρηδες <u>ἐφάνην τους</u> νὰ τοῦ μηνύσει ὁ ῥήγας, νὰ 'ρτῃ
    ὀμπρός του   16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 22.6–7

τὸ ὁποῖον ἐτοῦτο <u>ἀκούοντάς το</u> ἐγώ, ὁ εὐχέτης τῆς μεγάλης σου βασιλείας, οὐ δ'
    ὅλως τὸ ἐπίστευσα   1655, Moldavia, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 9, 77.13–14

ἀκόμη καὶ τὸ ἄλλον ἥμισον <u>ἐχάρισέν το</u> ὁ Διενής   1665, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 7, 19.11

λοιπὸν τὸ γράμμα <u>πέμπω το</u>   17th c., PROSOPSAS, *Peri tyflou* Dedic. 13

cl+V (later, from ca. 16th c.)

καὶ ὅλους τοὺς ἐχθροὺς <u>τοὺς ἐνίκα</u>   16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 278.18–19

καὶ τὸ ἄλλο <u>τὸ ἔλεγαν</u> δένδρον τοῦ φεγγαρίου   16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.21–2

καὶ τοῦτο <u>το κάμνει</u> ὁ Θεὸς πολλές φορές   16th c., DIONYS., *Istor.* 254.16

τοῦτα <u>τὰ εἶπεν</u> εἰς ὅλους   17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 55.14

αὐτὴ τὴν βρύση <u>τὴν ἔφκιασε</u> μὲ ἐδικές του ἐξόδεψες ὁ Ἰζὰρ μπέης
                                                  18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 46.26–47.1

Adverbials/Adverbial Clauses Preceding: V+cl and (in part later) cl+V

V+cl: Adverbials

ὀκάτι τώρα <u>βλέπω σε</u>, πολλὰ εἶσαι βαρεμένη   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 304

εἰ δὲ πολλάκις <u>δόξει την</u> καὶ φθάσει ὁ καρκατσάς της   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 35

ἀλήθεια, <u>δίδεις με</u> πολλά   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. II* 24

ἀπὸ μακρέα <u>στριγγίζω τον</u>   14th c./13th–14th c., *Log. parig.* L 71

ἐκ μέρους γὰρ τοῦ ἀφέντου του <u>ἐπαρακάλεσέ τον</u> νὰ ὁρίσῃ, νὰ τὸν δώσουσι νερὸν ἐκ
    τὴν γιστέρναν   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8220–1

ὀλίγον <u>φέρνει με</u> ὁ θυμὸς νὰ βάλω νὰ σὲ σύρουν ἐκ τῶν ἀλόγων τὰς οὐράς, ὅλους νὰ
    σᾶς κρεμάσουν   15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1465–6

κ' ἐκεῖ <u>εἶχαν τον</u> πολλὰ ἀκριβόν   16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 14.17

τὸ λοιπόν, <u>λέγε μου</u> μὲ δίχως φόβον πῶς ἐπλανέθηκες τέτοιας λογῆς
                                                  17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34.20–1

ἀκόμη <u>ἔδωσέν της</u> καὶ ἄσπρα πεντακόσια   1669, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 184.10

V+cl: Adverbial Clauses

ὁ προρρηθεὶς ὁ Πιτζούλος, ὅτε καὶ μὲ ἔλαβεν εἰς νόμιμον γυνὴν εἰς τὴν χώραν
    Ραγούσας, <u>δέδωκέν μοι</u> ἓν οἴκημα
                                1171, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VII: 4, 362.8–363.1

καθεὶς ὡς ἐμαγείρευσεν, <u>εὑρίσκει το</u> ἔμπροσθέν του   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 366

θωρῶντα τον ὁ ἀποστολές, <u>ἐποῖκεν του</u> πολλὲς τιμές
                                                  16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 14.17–18

οὖλον τὸν κόσμον θρέφει τον τὸ θάρος κ' ἐγὼ 'φότις ἐβίγλισα 'χ τὸν Πόθον … <u>ἔχασά
    το</u> κι ἀξάφψα γοιὸν καμίνιν   16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 109.19–22

ἂν ἤμου καὶ στὴν καδένα, <u>ἤσπουν τη</u> νὰ φύγω
                                                  17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* III.173–4

cl+V: Adverbials (mainly with a linking function)

τότε <u>μὲ λογάριασε</u> καλῶς …, καὶ ἂν μ' εὕρῃς χρώμενον κακῶς εἰς ταῦτα τὰ μὲ δίδεις,
    τότε <u>μὲ καταδίκασε</u>, [τότε κατάγνωσέ με]   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. II* 66–8 app. crit. (H)

ὁ μισὶρ Ντζὰς ὁ Τζαρδερούς, κοντόσταυλος ὁ μέγας (οὕτως <u>τὸν ὠνομάζασιν</u> στὸ
    πριγκιπᾶτο ὅλο …)   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7820–1

διὰ τοῦτο <u>σὲ παρακαλοῦν</u> οἱ λίζιοι τοῦ Μορέως   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7902

καὶ ὥσπερ τὰς γυναῖκας των οὕτως <u>μὲ ἀγαποῦσιν</u>   15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 767

εἶτα <u>τὸν εἰπὲ</u> καὶ ἃς τὰ πολλαπλασιάσῃ μὲ ἕτερα ε', εἶθ' οὕτως πέ τον
                                        post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 38, 34.4–6

λάκκον βαθὺν ἐσκάψασιν, ὡς κάμνουν τοῦ κλημάτου κ' ἐκεῖ μέσα <u>μ' ἐβάλασιν</u>, εἰς
    τόπον τοῦ χωμάτου   16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 69–70

ὁμοίως <u>τοῦ ἀφίνει</u> καὶ τὸ σπίτι του … ἀκόμη <u>τοῦ ἀφίνει</u> τοῦ αὐτοῦ Νικολάου
    χωράφια πινακίων δώδεκα   1583, Zakynthos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: A, 298.19–299.2

ἔλα νὰ πᾶμε εἰς τὸ σπίτι μου, νὰ σταθῇς νὰ 'ρδινιάσω τὰ παιδιά μου, τὸ σπίτι μου
    …, κι ἀπ' ἐκεῖ <u>μὲ ἔπαρε</u>   16th c., *Nov. II* 162.29–31

cl+V: Adverbial Clauses (mostly late, from ca. 16th c.)

καὶ λάφιν δὲν μ' ἐγλύτωνεν …, τὸ νὰ τὸ δῶ, <u>τὸ δόξευα</u> κ' εἶχα το σκοτωμένον
                                                  16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 45–6

ἂν ἤθελες βάλῃς λίτρες δέκα σαλμίτριο, <u>τοῦ βάνεις</u> δύο κουταλιὲς στάχτη
                                            ?15th–16th c., Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.22

ὡς ἔφθασαν εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον, <u>τοῦ εἶπασιν</u>   16th c., *Martyr. Vlas.* 245.15

ἡ ἐπιθυμία, ἐνεργῶντας εἰς τοῦ λόγου σας, <u>σᾶς ἐσηκώνει</u> ἡδονήν
                                                  17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34.11–12

ἔστοντας λοιπὸν νὰ εὑρίσκεται ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς αὐτείνην τὴν δεινὴν πλάνην καὶ
    ἀπάτην, <u>τοῦ γεννᾶται</u> ἕνα παιδί   17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 37.31–2

τὸν καιρὸ ποὺ ὑπανδρεύθηκε τὴν μακαρίαν καὶ ἁγιοτάτη ὁσίαν Θεοδώραν, <u>τοῦ
    ἐφανερώθηκε</u> ὁ Σατανᾶς καὶ τὸν ἔβαλε εἰς πείραξη
                                                  18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 25.6–9

Left-Dislocated Topics Preceding: V+cl and (later) cl+V

V+cl (standard)

τὴν ἐπιστολὴ τὴν σὲ ἔπεμψα μὲ τὸν Θεόδωρον νὰ τὴν πέμψεις τὸν ἀββᾶν Γεράσιμον,
    <u>ἀνάγνωσέ την</u>   12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.15–16

τὴν μίαν κασέλαν τὴν μικρὴν <u>ἀφίω την</u> τὸν ἰατρὸν τὸν κὺρ Μανουὴλ
                                            ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.37

τοὺς κόντους καὶ καβαλλαρίους, <u>ἀπεχαιρέτησέν τους</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8610

καὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ ποιεῖς ἐσὺ <u>λέγεις τα</u> πρὸς ἐμένα;   15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 164

τὸν νοῦν μου τὸν ἀδούλωτον, <u>ἐκατεδούλωσές τον</u>
                                15th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 743 transcr. (Panayotopoulou/Lendari)

ἀπὲ τὸ μοῦ μηνᾷς ὅτι εἶσαι γείτος μου καὶ νὰ ἔχωμεν ἀγάπην κατὰ τὸν ὁρισμὸν τοῦ
    θεοῦ καὶ νὰ ἔχωμεν δῆμμαν μεσόν μας, <u>τζετιάζω το</u>
                                                  16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.27–9

τῇ δοξεμένῃ μου καρδιὰ <u>σκίζου καὶ σφάζου μού τη</u>
                                                  17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* II.118

cl+V (later, from ca. 16th c.)

τὰ ὁποῖα ἄνωθεν δουκάτα εἴκοσι, <u>τὰ ἔλαβεν</u> χεροδοτὰ σῶα
                                            1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 25, 35.14–15

ταῦτα πάντα ὅσα μὲ ἄφηκεν ὁ πατέρας μου ὁ Σεραφείμ, <u>τὰ ἐπερίλαβα</u> ἐγὼ ἡ Ζαφείρω
<div align="right">1606, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 26, 102.17–18</div>

ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οἱ προλεγόμενοι ἄνδρες …, ἐκείνην τὴν κακωσύνην ὁποὺ εἴχασιν μέσα τως,
<u>τὴν φανερώνουσι</u>   17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 40.12

τὰ ροῦχα καὶ τὲς κασέλες μέρτσα, <u>τὰ ἔλαβα</u> καὶ κρῖμα εἰς τὸν κόπον
<div align="right">1696, Ochrid, MERTZIOS 1947a: 9, 214.10</div>

8.2.2   V Non-Initial in VC: cl+V

Mood Marker Preceding

καὶ κἂν <u>ἄς τὸν ἐκέρδησες</u> καὶ κἂν <u>ἄς τὸν ἐχάρης</u>, ἄς εἶδες κἂν ἐνύπνιον γλυκὺν κατὰ
τὸν ὕπνον!   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 167–8

ποῦ ἦτον εἰς τὸν ἑσπερινόν, <u>ἄς τὸν ἐκβάλουν</u> ἔξω   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. IV* 49

καὶ γὰρ ἐζήτησεν τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς χώρας καὶ <u>νὰ τοῦ τὸ ἐδώκασιν</u>
<div align="right">1288, Cos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 228.22–3</div>

τί <u>νὰ σὲ λέγω</u> τὰ πολλὰ πολλάκις νὰ βαρειέσαι;   16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 1092

ἄς βάλη ἄλλα τόσα καὶ ἕτερα ε΄ καὶ <u>ἄς τὰ σουμμάρη</u>. εἶτα τὸν εἰπὲ καὶ <u>ἄς τὰ</u>
<u>πολλαπλασιάση</u> μὲ ἕτερα ε΄, εἶθ᾽ οὕτως πέ τον
<div align="right">post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 38, 34.5–6</div>

τὸν δίδομεν ἄδειαν, τὸ πεζούλιον ὅπερ εὑρίσκεται ἐκεῖ ὅπου τρέχει, ἤγουν ὅπου
ἐβγαίνει τὸ νερόν, <u>νὰ τὸ ὁρίζη</u> καὶ νὰ φκιάνη καὶ τὸ νερὸ ἐὰν χαλάση τίποτε
<div align="right">1582, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 58, 179.5–6</div>

καὶ τὰ μετρητὰ τοῦ πεθεροῦ μου, μὲ πρῶτο καράβι ὅπου θέλει ἔρθει <u>νὰ μᾶς τὰ</u>
<u>στείλης</u>   1697, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 64, 240.4–5

Negative Preceding

ψεύδεται, φλυαρεῖ, <u>μὴ τὸν πιστεύης</u>!   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 133

μεγαλοψύχως δέξαι με καὶ <u>μὴ μὲ ἀγανακτήσης</u> 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. II* 19.6 app. crit. (H)

τὸ δὲ ὁμάτζιο καὶ λιζίαν, τὸ ὁρίζει νὰ ἔχουν ποιήσει τοῦ μπάϊλου ἐκεινοῦ ντὲ Σουλῆ,
ποτὲ <u>οὐδὲ τὸ κάμνουν</u>   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7874–5

διὰ τοῦτο σὲ παρακαλοῦν οἱ λίζιοι τοῦ Μορέως <u>μὴ τὸ δεχτῆς</u> εἰς βάρος σου ἐτοῦτο
ὅπου σὲ λέγουν   14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7902–3

αὐτοὶ <u>οὐδὲν τὸ ἠθέλησαν</u>, ἤλλαξάν το δὲ καὶ ἀπῆραν τὸ ἀμπέλιον τοῦ γιαλοῦ
<div align="right">14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.8</div>

ἂν <u>οὐ σὲ ᾽γάπουν</u> τὰ πολλά, τώρα σκοτώσει σέ ᾽χα
<div align="right">15th–16th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 1571</div>

<u>μὴ σοῦ φαίνεται</u> παράξενο ἂν ἐσκοτίσθηκα ἀπὸ τὴν πολλὴν λάμψιν
<div align="right">16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.30–1</div>

καὶ ὅσες γραφὲς τοῦ ἔπεμψε ἡ γυναῖκα του, <u>δὲν τὲς τοῦ ἔδωκεν</u>
<div align="right">1571, Unknown, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 8, 481.11–12</div>

καὶ ἃ <u>δὲν τὸ πιστεύγη</u> ὁ ἄνωθεν μισερ-Τζώρτζης, ὀμπλεγάρεται ὁ ἄνωθεν μισερ-
Μαθιὸς νὰ πᾶ τὸ ξανακαμπανίσου στοῦ ἄνωθεν Καρβουνάρη
<div align="right">1609, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 626, 547.15</div>

NOTES

(i)   The traditional negative marker οὐ(κ) and its verb are often treated as a single unit
within the verbal complex, thus forcing the clitic either to precede the negative or
to follow the verb according to the immediate contextual requirements. This occurs
mostly in early texts:

τόπον ἐκ τόπου μεριμνᾷς καὶ τόπος <u>οὐ χωρεῖ</u> σε   13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 156

γοργὸν ἂν <u>σὲ οὐκ ἐκβάλουσιν</u>, ἐκεῖ νὰ ἐξεψυχήσης 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 229

τί <u>τοὺς οὐ θάπτω</u> ὡσότε ζῶ καὶ φεύγω ἀπὸ τὴν Πόλιν … ;
<div align="right">14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. II* 26.11 app. crit. (H)</div>

(ii)   The presence of a connective in second position between a negative and its verb may
override the expected clitic placement:

<u>μὴ</u> οὖν <u>ἀποχωρίσης τους</u> μηδ᾽ ἀποπέμψης μᾶλλον   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 12

(iii)   The emphatic negative μηδέ regularly stands immediately before the word that it
emphasizes and may prevent clitic attraction if this is the verb:

καὶ <u>μηδὲ ἐπιχειρῶ</u> το   ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.8v.4

We may contrast examples where the presence of a focus other than V allows for the reg-
ular distribution:

τὸ δὲ θὲς ἐσύ, νὰ <u>μηδὲ ἀλλοῦ τὸ</u> ποίσης   16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 24

(iv)   A negative marker may combine with an intensifying adverbial to form a single
element (= "not at all" etc.):

τὸ ὁποῖον ἐτοῦτο ἀκούοντάς το ἐγώ, ὁ εὐχέτης τῆς μεγάλης σου βασιλείας, <u>οὐ</u> δ᾽
<u>ὅλως</u> τὸ ἐπίστευσα   1655, Moldavia, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 9, 77.13–14

Mood Marker and Negative Preceding

καὶ λυτρωθοῦμεν τον γοργόν, <u>νὰ μὴ μᾶς παραβλέπη</u>   14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. IV* 528

τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον ἔνι τοῦ παπᾶ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Πρακανᾶ καὶ εἴ τις νὰ τὸ πάρη νὰ
διαβάση καὶ <u>νὰ μηδὲν τὸ στρέψη</u>, νὰ ἔχη τὰς ἀρὰς τῶν τιη΄ θεοφόρων πατέρων
<div align="right">14th c., Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 99, 99.1–3</div>

ἐγδύνουνται … ἀπου τὰ σπίτιαν καὶ ἀπὸ ὅλα τως τὰ δικαιώματα σὰν <u>νὰ μὴν τὰ</u>
<u>θέλασιν</u> ἔχει ποτέ   1592, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 19, 74.13–14

παρακαλῶ τὴ πανιερότη σου <u>νὰ μὴ τὸ πάρης</u> σὲ βάρη νὰ μοῦ πέψης μιὰ φλέτσα …
καὶ κακοφαίνεταί μου καὶ γράφεις μου <u>νὰ μὴ τόνε δεκτῶ</u>
<div align="right">1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.10–14</div>

8.3   Clitic Pronouns and Periphrastic Verb Forms

Perfects and pluperfects formed with ἔχω + passive participle (typically a southern feature, cf. 4.4.4), treat the pronoun as the object of the auxiliary. This is expected, since the origin of the construction is an expression in which the participle serves as an object predicate: "I have it + written" etc. The placement of the clitic vis-à-vis ἔχω then follows Rule (94) (i.e. in conformity with the various constraints on what can count as an initial constituent for the purposes of clitic placement):

θωρῶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ <u>ἔχει σας κερδεμένους</u>   16th c./15th c., LIMEN., Than. Rod. 61

μ' ὅλο ποὺ τόσοι βασιλιοὶ <u>τὴν ἔχου ζητημένη</u>   17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, Erof. I.534

βοήθεια ἀπὸ ἄρματα, ὁποὺ οἱ Τοῦρκοι <u>τοὺς ἔχουν στερεμένα</u>
1609, Cyprus, CHASIOTIS 1972: 35, 59.7

For examples of pluperfects formed with εἶχα + infinitive (which are ultimately derived from conditionals), see below.

From the semantic point of view, futures and conditionals formed with ἔχω/θέλω + infinitive or subjunctive should treat clitic pronouns as complements of the infinitive/subjunctive, cf. "I will + take it", "he will + come to you", etc. This is clearly the case when the subjunctive is marked by νά, since there are obviously two distinct VCs in play and the clitic always belongs to the second (as its second element):

θέλεις [<u>νὰ τοὺς ἐκλέξης</u>]   14th c., Chron. Mor. H 4633

ἂν δύναμαι, ἔχω [<u>νὰ σὲ δουλεύσω</u>]   ?1448, Constantinople, VRANOUSI 1980: 45, 321.5

θέλει [<u>νὰ μοῦ δώσει</u>] ὁ ἀδερφός μου
1531, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 20, 66.13–14

ἔχει [<u>νὰ τοῦ ἔλθῃ</u>] αὐτὸς ὁ θάνατος
1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 14, 35.5–6

The same analysis in fact applies to the relatively rare examples of bare subjunctives without νά:

δὲν ἤθελαν [<u>τὸ δουλεύουν</u>]   1573, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 2, 21.10

This situation persists throughout the period of this Grammar and eventually results, via phonological reduction of the auxiliary, in the sequence (θὲ νὰ >) θὰ + clitic + V familiar from MG (where the residual status of θα as the head of a VC is indicated by the fact that it is still negated by δεν, independently of what follows).

Things are different, however, with infinitives (in what follows, futures/conditionals and pluperfects are treated together as formally parallel periphrastic structures). When the auxiliary is initial, the pronoun stands before the infinitive, making it the second element both in the periphrasis taken as a whole and in the containing clause:

Aux + cl + Infinitive: <u>θέλω σου τα πέψει</u>   1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 3, 21.16

When the auxiliary is non-initial in its VC, or has been attracted to a clause-initial constituent, the clitic is normally preposed before the auxiliary to remain the second item in the periphrasis/clause:

X [cl + Aux + Infinitive]: <u>νὰ τὴν θέλωμεν θάψει;</u>   15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 92

This state of affairs suggests an early reanalysis of the sequence Aux + cl + Inf, whereby the clitic was taken to be the grammatical complement of the preceding auxiliary rather than of the following infinitive. In other words, infinitival periphrases came to be regarded as unitary verb forms, with the auxiliary as part of a single VC and the infinitive as its head.

This latter development, however, was generalized rather slowly in the south, most obviously in Crete:

τσὶ γάμους σου ἔρχεται νὰ τιμήσῃ ὁ βασιλιὸς τῆς Πέρσιας, σὰν <u>εἶχα σου μιλήσει</u>
17th c., TROILOS, Rodol. III.215–16

It was strongly resisted in Cyprus, where the auxiliary and infinitive are consistently treated as the heads of two distinct VCs, giving the sequence [X + Aux + cl + Infinitive] in all cases:

<u>νὰ εἶχα [σε γεννήσειν]</u>   16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 644.5–6

ἂν <u>εἶχεν [του πάρειν]</u> τὸ καράβιν, ἔθελεν πεθάνειν ἀπὲ τὴν πλῆξιν του
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. O 86.3–4

ἂν <u>εἶχα [τὸ ξεύρειν]</u>, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἔμπαινα   16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 38.3

ἂν <u>εἶχεν [τὸ ποίσειν]</u>, ἐγινίσκετον μέγα σκάνταλον
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 52.6–7

Auxiliary Initial: Aux+cl+V

καὶ ἂν τὸν πάρῃς, <u>θέλω σου δώσειν</u> κακὸν θάνατον
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 68.26

<u>θέλομε σοῦ δώσει</u> θέλημα   1663, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 5, 415.13

μοῦ ἔγραφες πῶς <u>θέλεις μοῦ στείλη</u> τὸ ρέστο τῆς παραγγελίας
1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 6, 213.8–9

<u>ἤθελε τὸν ρίξει</u> κάτω μὲ καμίαν λαβωματιάν   18th c., Don Kis. 50.17

NOTES

(i)   Failure of attraction of the clitic to the innovative/popular complementizer in cases like πῶς θέλεις μοῦ στείλη (MERTZIOS 1947a: 6, 213.8–9, cited above) is difficult to explain in view of what was said above about this class of elements (and cf. the expected pattern attested in the examples immediately below). Perhaps these cases simply reflect the continuing influence of the functionally equivalent ὅτι, which tends to retain the "main-clause" distribution of clitics in subordinate clauses, as noted. We may compare the same situation in corresponding examples with pluperfects:

ὡς εἴδανε οἱ Οὔγγαροι τοὺς Φραντζέζους τὸ πῶς <u>εἴχανέ τουσε κόψει</u> ὅλους
17th c., Chron. Tourk. Soult. 33.1–2

Auxiliary Non-Initial: X cl+Aux+V

εἰ μὲν <u>τὸν θέλεις κακοποιῆσαι</u> διὰ τὰ σφάλματα αὐτοῦ
1130–40?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 535.9–10

τὸ στέμμα τὸ βασιλικὸν <u>νὰ τοῦ τὸ ἔχουν φορέσει</u>   14th c., Chron. Mor. H 953

ὅταν <u>σᾶς θέλουν σφάξει</u>   15th c./14th c., Pol. Tr. 1441

ἐκεῖνοι παρακάθουνται ἵνα <u>τὸ θέλουν πάρει</u>   16th c./?14th–15th c., Achil. O

ὄντε <u>τῇ θὲ ζητήξει</u>   16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 160

σὰν ἐλθοῦν οἱ ποντικοὶ ..., <u>τοὺς θέλομε ἀντισταθῇ</u>   16th c., ZINOS, *Vatr.* 261–2

Pluperfects formed with εἶχα + infinitive naturally follow the same general patterns of clitic distribution, though the fact that the majority of examples occur in subordinate clauses with overt conjunctions strongly favours pre-auxiliary position overall. Generally, therefore, the clitic precedes the auxiliary in the presence of a conjunction (or indeed a negative marker or other legitimate "initial" element):

ἔβαλαν τὸν βασιλέαν ἐκεῖνον εἰς τὸ σκαμνὶ ... ὅπου <u>τὸ εἶχεν χάσει</u>
                                        14th. c., *Chron. Mor.* H 622–3

καθὼς <u>τοὺς εἶχε ὀμόσει</u>   16th c./14th. c., *Chron. Mor.* P 81

<u>δὲ μοῦ εἶχες δώσει</u> τότες ἄλλο ..., ἀμὴ εἶχε μου εἰπεῖν
                                        1501–3, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 7, 33.7

καθὼς <u>τοὺς εἶχεν ἀφήκει</u> ὁ Νεκτεναβός   16th c., *Diig. Alex.* K 349.33

προτοῦ σώσῃ ἐκεῖ, <u>τὸν εἶχε φθονήσει</u> ἡ γυναίκα του καὶ ὁ υἱός του καὶ τὸν
ἐσκοτώσανε   17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.29–31

τὲς δύο στάμνες ποὺ <u>σοῦ εἶχα στείλει</u>   1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 306, f2r.21

But if the conjunction is a traditional one, the clitic may sometimes follow:

ἐπειδὴ <u>εἶχον του μηνύσει</u> νὰ ἔλθει νὰ ἰμοιράσουν 1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 39, 33.2–3

And post-auxiliary position is regular in the second of two conjoined clauses when the periphrasis is the initial element:

δὲ μοῦ εἶχες δώσει τότες ἄλλο ..., ἀμὴ <u>εἶχε μου εἰπεῖν</u>
                                        1501–3, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 7, 33.7

By contrast, the original (i.e. biclausal) treatment of the construction is retained in Cyprus, with clitics appearing in post-auxiliary position across the board:

<u>εἶχαν τὸν κόψει</u> κακὰ καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν   15th c./?13th c., *Assizes* B 267.11–12

<u>εἴχαμέν το δώσει</u>   1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULOS 1983: 46, 25.2

Index of Linguistic Terms and Concepts

Index of Greek Words and Phrases

εὐρέ/βρέ(ς), 1677
εὑρέθομαν/ηὑρέθομαν/βρέθομαν/-ίσκομαι, 1382
εὑρέσκω/ηὑρέσκω/βρέσκω, 1382
εὑρέτε/βρέτε, 1680
εὕρηκα/ἔβρηκα/ηὕρηκα/εὑρῆκα/ἐβρῆκα/ηὑρῆκα,
    1342–3
εὑρίσκω/βρίσκω, 1382, 1412
εὕρον/ηὕρον, 1343
εὕρω/εὑρῶ/βρῶ, 1343, 1345, 1498, 1513
Εὑστράτιος/Στράτης, ὁ, 357
εὐτεῖνος, 941
εὐτόνος, 941
εὐτός, 916, 941, 1981
εὐτοῦνος, 941
εὐτυχής/εὔτυχος, 689
εὐτυχῶς, 832
εὔχομαι, εὐχηθ-, 1331–2
ἔφαε/ἔφα, 1354
ἔφερα, 1351
ἐφτά. See ἑπτά
ἔφτατος. See ἔπτατος
ἐχ. See ἐκ
ἔχα. See εἶχα
ἔχας, τό, 1705
ἐχάωσα/ἐχάσα/ἔχασα, 234
ἔχθρητα, ἡ, 459
ἔχοντα(ς) καί, 1908
ἐώ. See ἐγώ
ἕως νά, 1911
ἕως (ὁ)ποὺ, 1906, 1907, 1910, 1912, 1913
ἕως ὅτου, 1156, 1906, 1907, 1909, 1911
ἕως οὖ, 1124, 1906, 1907, 1909, 1911, 1913

ζᾶ. See ζῶ
ζαλαχανάς, ὁ, 305
ζαριστής, ὁ, 356
ζαφορά, ἡ, 458
ζερβός/ζαρβός, 690–1
ζέστα/-η, ἡ, 532
ζευγιά, ἡ, 461
Ζεύς, ὁ, 403
ζῆλος, ὁ/τό, 298, 662
ζῇ(ν)/ζεῖ(ν), 1685, 1686
ζήτουλας, ὁ, 304
ζητῶ, ζητηξ-, 1336
ζιπούνι(ν), τό, 611
ζυγαρέα/-ιά, ἡ, 459
ζυγώνω, ζυγωξ-, 1326, 1327
ζῶ/ζό, τό, ζᾶ, τά, 594

ἡ, 846, 848
ἥ, 1123, 1124, 1125
ἡ. See οἱ
ἡ/γή, 145, 848
ἡ/γή, 145, 2013, 2016

ἡγέ, 848
ἥβγα. See ἐβγαίνω
ἥβγατεν, 1674
ἥθε(ν), 1811–12, 1874, 1875
ἥθες, 1812
ἦθος, τό, 661
ἦθος/-ι(ν), τό, 677
ἡμᾶς/ἐμᾶς/ἔμας, 870, 871–2
ἥμασταν/ἤμασθαν, 1729, 1736–7
ἥμαστε(ν)(ε)/ἤμασθε(ν), 1729, 1735–6
ἥμαστον/ἤμασθον/ἤμαστουν, 1729, 1736
ἥμεθα(ν), 1729, 1733–4
ἥμεθεν/ἤμεθον, 1729, 1734
ἡμεῖς/ἐμεῖς/μεῖς, 869, 870–1
ἤμενθα, 1734
ἡμέρας/-ός, τῆς, 478
ἡμερός/-οῦ, τῆς, 478
ἡμεροῦ/-οῦς, τῆς, 478, 479
ἥμεστα(ν)(ε)/ἤμεσθα(ν), 1729, 1734
ἥμεστε(ν)/ἤμεσθε(ν), 1729, 1735
ἥμεστον, 1734, 1735
ἡμέτερος, 914
ἡμέτερος/ἐμέτερος, 914
ἤμη(ν), 1728, 1731
ἤμισταν, 1729, 1735
ἤμισυς/-ος/-ός/(ἐ)μισός, 757–60
ἤμον, 1728, 1731–2
ημουναμε, 1729, 1737
ἤμου(ν)(ε)/ἤμουνα, 1728, 1729–31
ἤμπα. See ἐμπαίνω
ἡμπορά. See μπορά
ἡμπορῶ. See ἐμπορῶ
ἡμῶν/ἐμᾶς, 871
ἤν, 1724, 1728, 1729, 1748. See also εἶν
ἥν, 1124, 1126
ἡνία ἡ/τά, 612
ἤνπερ, 1130, 1131
ἤντα. See τίντα
ἤντινα. See ἤτινα
ἤντον, 1728, 1748
ἤπερ, 1130, 1131
ἤπια. See ἔπια
ἤρθα/ἔρθα, 1413
ἦς, 1124, 1125–6
ἤσα(ν)/ἤσανε, 1729, 1739, 1743–4
ἤσανι, 1729, 1743, 1744
ἥσασι(ν)/ἤσανσι(ν), 1729, 1744–5
ἥσαστε, 1729, 1735, 1738–9
ἥσαστον/-ουν, 1729, 1739
ἥσον, 1728, 1733
ἥσουνα, 1733
ἥσου(ν)(ε), 1728, 1732–3
ησουναστε, 1729, 1737, 1739
ἥσπερ, 1130, 1131
ἥσται(ν)/ἤσθαι(ν). See εἶσται(ν)

ἤσταν (2 pl.), 1729, 1738
ἥστα(ν) (3 pl.), 1729, 1743
ἥστε(ν)/ἤσθε(ν)/ἤστενε, 1729, 1737–8. See also
    εἶσται(ν)
ἥστον (2 pl.), 1729, 1738
ἥστον/εἶστον (3 sg./pl.), 1728, 1729, 1742
ἥστονε/εἶστονε (3 pl.), 1729, 1742, 1743
ἥσυχος, 718
ἤτα(ν)/ἤτανε, 1729, 1739, 1746–8
ἥτασι(ν), 1729, 1749
ἥτε, 1710, 1718
ἥτινα/ἤντινα, 1156, 1158
ἤτινος, 1156, 1158
ἤτις, 1155, 1156, 1158
ἤτον/ἔτον, 1413, 1728, 1729, 1739, 1742
ἤτο(ν)/ἤτονε(ν), 1728, 1729, 1739–41
ἤτονα (3 sg.), 1728, 1739, 1741
ἤτονες (3 pl.), 1729, 1739, 1741
ἤτου(ν)(ε)/ἤτουνα, 1728, 1729, 1745–6
ηὑρ-. See εὑρ-
ηὗρα, 1343, 1613
ηὗρον. See εὗρον
ἠχός/ἠχός, ὁ, 262

θά (fut.), 40, 203, 1791–3, 1870, 1898, 2027, 2038
θά (volit.), 1380
θά/θάν, 1793
θάλασσα, ἡ, 459
θάπτω/θάβ(γ)ω, 1277
θάπτω/θάφτω, 1275
θαραπαημένος, 1368
θάρρος, τό/ὁ, 677
θὲ νά/θενά, 40, 1790–1, 1870
θειοῦδες, οἱ, 457
θελά, 1790
θέλει εἶσταν τρεχάμενος, 1783
θέλευ/θελ’, 1787
θέλεις … θέλεις, 2013
θέλω, θές, θέ(ν), etc., 1783–4. See also ἐθέλω
θεμέλιο(ν), τό/-ιός, ὁ, 607
θέννα. See θθὲ ννά
Θεόδωρος/-ής, ὁ, 300, 359
θεραπεύω, θαραπαυσ-/θαραπαψ-, 1382
θέτω, ἔθηκα/ἔθεκα, 1341, 1342, 1383
θέτω, ἔθησα, 1383
θέτω/θήττω, 1383
Θήβα, ἡ, 459
Θηβῶν, τῶν/-οῦ τῆς, 478
θῆλυς, 760–1
θηρίο(ν)/-ιό(ν)/θεριό(ν), τό, 609
θθὲ ννά/θέννα, 1789, 1790
Θιάκι(ν). See Ἰθάκη
θλίβω/θλιβῶ, 1309
θρασύς, 745
θρῆνος, ὁ/-ίον, τό, 299, 613

θρῆνος, ὁ/τό, 298, 662
θρίξ/τρίχα, ἡ, 458
θρύβας, 1704
θυγάτηρ/θυγατέρα, ἡ, 458, 459
θώρη, τά, 661

Ἰανουάριος, ὁ, 435
Ἰάσων/Ἰασοῦς, ὁ, 422
ἰγῆς. See γῆς
ἰγώ. See ἐγώ
ἰδέ/διέ, 1375
ἰδεῖ(ν)/δι(γ)εῖ(ν), 1375
ἰδεῖ(ν)/ἴδει(ν)/δεῖ(ν), 1693–4
ἰδέ(ς)/δέ(ς), 1677–8
ἰδέτε/δέτε, 1680
Ἴδη/Ἴδα, 26
ἰδικός/(ἐ)δικός μου, etc., 903, 910–12
ἴδιος μου, etc., 903, 912–13
ἴδιος. See ὁ ἴδιος
ἰδρῦς. See δρῦς
ἴδρως ὁ/-ος, τό, 664
ἰδρώτας, ὁ/-η, ἡ, 537
ἰδυό. See δυό
ἰδῶ/δι(γι)ῶ, 217, 1375
ἴδω/ἰδῶ/δῶ, 1513, 1514
Ἱεράπετρα, τά/Γεράπετρος, ἡ, 258, 608
ἱερής, ὁ, 356, 422
Ἱεροσόλυμα, τά/τό, 608, 645
Ἰησοῦς, ὁ, 422
Ἰθάκη, ἡ/Θιάκι(ν), τό, 569, 613
ἵνα/νά, 1867, 1869, 1870, 1874, 1888–9, 1896, 2027.
    See also νά
ἰνκάντος, τό, 661
ἴντα. See τίντα
ἴντα/ἴντας, 1014
ἰντράδα, ἡ, 459
Ἰσαάκιος, ὁ, 435
ἰστίν. See ἐστίν
ἰσύ. See ἐσύ
ἰσχύς, ἡ, 589
ἰσχύω/ἰσχύνω, 1290
ἴτις/ἔτσι, 123
ἰχθύς, ὁ, 453–4

καβαλλάριος, ὁ, 435, 437
καβαλλάριος/-ης, ὁ, 357
καβαλλικευμένος, 1367
κάβουρος/-ας, ὁ, 299, 305
καδής. See κατής
Κάερο/-ος, τό, 664
καημένος, 23, 1368
καθά, 1922
καθαίρ(ν)ω/καθαιρνῶ, 1299, 1309, 1384
καθακαμιά. See καθεμία
καθακιανείς, 1218

Index of Innovative Greek Endings and Suffixes

This index includes all endings and inflectional suffixes that are not inherited from earlier stages of the language. In order not to overburden this index, for phonetic and phonological variants the reader is referred to the relevant sections in Part I: raising vocalism (e.g. -ιτι for -ετε 2.5.4); back vowel raising (e.g. -ους for -ος or hypercorrection thereof, e.g. -ον for -ουν 2.8.3); deletion of final /s/ through dissimilation (e.g. -ου for -ους, -έ for -ές 3.7.1.1); nasal deletion before stops (e.g. -οται for -ονται 3.6.2.1); addition and deletion of final /n/ (e.g. -ων for -ω or -ου for -ουν 3.7.2.1 and 3.7.2.2); addition of word-final vowel (e.g. -ωνε for -ων, -ούσινε for -οῦσι(ν), -ὀμουνα for -όμουν 2.6.3); syncope (e.g. -τε for -ετε 2.7.2); gemination (e.g.-μεθθαν for -μεθα 3.4.2.5); different stress patterns (e.g. -άμεν in ἐπαιζάμεν for ἐπαίζαμεν 4.2.3); synizesis (e.g. -ιούς for -ίους, -ιά for -έα/-ία 2.9.4). Also not included are endings that are the result of a combination of ligatures, e.g. -ομένοστα(ν), which in fact represents -ομέστα(ν).

For nouns only nom. sg. is included, unless other cases or the plural cannot be inferred (e.g. -αδες).[1] For adjectives only the nom. sg. ending of masc. is listed, unless e.g. the feminine or neuter counterpart cannot be inferred on the basis of SMG (e.g. fem. -αρέα). For verbs only 1 sg. is listed (e.g. -οῦσα, but not -οῦσες, -οῦσε, etc.), unless there are notable variant forms for other persons (e.g. 3 pl. -ασαν). For forms of the copula εἶμαι, for pronouns, articles and numerals and for endings that appear with single lexical items (e.g. λέγας), the reader is referred to the Index of Greek Words and Phrases.

-α
  adjectives
    fem. nom./acc./voc. sg., [πρεζέντα] 792
  nouns
    masc. gen. sg., [μῆνα] 316, [ρήγα] 324
  verbs
    1 sg. aor. ind. pass., [ἐγράφθα] 1629
    2 sg. pres. imp. act., [φεῦγα] 1650
-ά
  adjectives
    neut. nom./acc./voc. pl., [ὑγιά] 763
  nouns
    fem. nom. sg., [ὀκά] 469, [μερά] 506
-αγα
  verbs
    1 sg. imperf. act., [ἐγρίκαγα] 1571
-ά(γ)εις/ά(γ)ης, -ά(γ)ει/-ά(γ)η
  verbs
    2 and 3 sg. pres. ind./subj. act., [γρικά(γ)εις] 1461
-ά(γ)ουν
  verbs
    3 pl. pres. ind./subj. act., [βαρά(γ)ουν] 1461

-άδες
  nouns
    fem. nom./acc./voc. pl., [ἀγοράδες] 464, [ὀκάδες] 470, [χηράδες] 474, [γρ(ι)άδες] 507, [ἀδελφάδες] 537, [νυφάδες] 546
    masc. nom./acc./voc. pl., [παπάδες] 306, [ἀντράδες] 317, [ρηγάδες] 324, [μαθητάδες] 361, [proper names] 455, [συγγενάδες] 762
-άειν
  verbs
    pres. inf. act. [γρικάειν] 1684
-άεις/-άης, -άει/-άη
  verbs. See -ά(γ)εις, -ά(γ)ει
-αῖοι/-έοι
  adjectives
    masc. nom./voc. pl., [ἀπομοναραῖοι] 729
  nouns
    masc. nom./voc. pl., [proper names] 455
-ᾶμαι
  verbs
    1 sg. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γρικᾶμαι] 1478

---

[1] For masc. Pontic nouns with nom. sg. in -ον/-όν (e.g ὁ Σοῦτον, ὁ Κυριακόν), see II, 1.4. For Cypriot gen. pl. nominal endings that are morphologically identical to the accusative (e.g. τὰ ράσα τοὺς καλογέρους), see II, 1.2. For Cycladic acc. pl. -ου/-οι endings (e.g. τὶς γερόντοι, τὶς προεστοί), which are identical to the nominative, see II, 1.3.

-αμαν
  verbs
    1 pl. aor. ind. act., [ἐγράψαμαν] 1615
-ᾰμε
  verbs
    1 pl. pres. ind./subj. act., [γρικᾰμε] 1461
-άμεθεν
  verbs
    1 pl. aor. ind. middle, [ἠρξάμεθεν] 1763
-αμεν
  verbs
    1 pl. imperf. act., [ἐβάραμεν] 1571
-άμην
  verbs
    1 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐτρεμάμην] 1543
-αμουν
  verbs
    1 sg. aor. ind. middle, [ἀφηγήσαμουν] 1763
-ᾰν(ε)
  verbs
    3 pl. pres. ind./subj. act., [γρικᾰν(ε)] 1461
-άντα
  gerund, participles. See -ντα
-άντοι
  nouns
    masc. nom./voc. pl., [proper names] 456
-ᾱντον
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρᾱντον] 1592
-ασαν
  verbs
    3 pl. aor. ind. act., [ἐγράψασαν] 1615
-ασι
  verbs
    3 pl. aor. ind. act., [ἐγράψασι] 1615
-ασον
  verbs
    3 pl. imperf. act., [ἐγράφασον] 1533
-άσουν
  verbs
    2 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγρικάσουν] 1592
-ατα
  nouns
    neut. nom./acc./voc. pl., [ἔργατα, προσώπατα] 598
-ᾱταν
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐφοβᾱταν] 1592
-ατε
  verbs
    2 pl. aor. imp. act., [ἴδατε] 1675
    2 pl. imperf. act., [ἐγράφατε] 1533
-άτοι
  nouns
    masc. nom./voc. pl., [proper names] 457

-άω
  verbs
    1 sg. pres. ind./subj. act., [γρικάω] 1461
-ε
  nouns
    fem. nom./acc./voc. sg., [πάρτε] 587
-έ
  nouns
    fem. nom./gen./acc./voc. sg., [μερέ] 506, [βαλετέ] 585
-έα
  adjectives
    fem. nom./acc./voc. sg., [ἀπομοναρέα] 728
-έας
  nouns
    masc. nom. sg., [βασιλέας] 403
-έδες
  nouns
    fem. nom./acc./voc. pl., [βαλετέδες] 585
    masc. nom./acc./voc. pl., [μαμελέδες] 428
-ειγα
  verbs
    1 sg. imperf. act., [ἐβάρειγα] 1571
-ειε
  verbs
    2 sg. pres. imp. act., [βάρειε] 1653
    3 sg. imperf. act., [ἐβάρειε] 1571
-ειες
  verbs
    2 sg. imperf. act., [ἐβάρειες] 1571
-(ε)ιέσαι
  verbs
    2 sg. pres. ind./subj. pass., [βαρ(ε)ιέσαι] 1478
-(ε)ιέσται/-(ε)ιέσθαι
  verbs
    pres. inf. pass., [βαρ(ε)ιέσται] 1688
-(ε)ιέστε/-(ε)ιέσθε
  verbs
    2 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιέστε] 1593
    2 pl. pres. imp. pass., [βαρ(ε)ιέστε] 1657
    2 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [βαρ(ε)ιέστε] 1478
-(ε)ιέτε
  verbs
    2 pl. pres. imp. act., [βαρ(ε)ιέτε] 1653
-(ε)ιέτον
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιέτον] 1592
-(ε)ιόμαι/-(ε)ιῶμαι
  verbs
    1 sg. pres. ind./subj. pass., [βαρ(ε)ιόμαι] 1478
-(ε)ιόμεσθα
  verbs
    1 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιόμεσθα] 1593

-(ε)ιόμουν
  verbs
    1 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιόμουν] 1592
-(ε)ιόνται
  verbs
    3 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [βαρ(ε)ιόνται] 1479
-(ε)ιόνταν
  verbs
    3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιόνταν] 1593
-(ε)ιόντησαν
  verbs
    3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιόντησαν] 1593
-(ε)ιόσουν
  verbs
    2 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιόσουν] 1592
    2 sg. pres. imp. pass., [βαρ(ε)ιόσουν] 1657
-(ε)ιότον
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιότον] 1592
-(ε)ιότουν
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιότουν] 1592
-(ε)ιοῦμαι
  verbs
    1 sg. pres. ind./subj. pass., [βαρ(ε)ιοῦμαι] 1478
-(ε)ιούμασθε
  verbs
    1 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γρικ(ε)ιούμασθε] 1478
-(ε)ιούμεσθα
  verbs
    1 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [βαρ(ε)ιούμεσθα] 1478
-(ε)ιούμουν
  verbs
    1 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιούμουν] 1592
-(ε)ιοῦνται
  verbs
    3 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [βαρ(ε)ιοῦνται] 1479
-(ε)ιοῦνταν
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγρικ(ε)ιοῦνταν] 1592
    3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιοῦνταν] 1593
-(ε)ιοῦντο
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιοῦντο] 1592
-(ε)ιουσουν
  verbs
    2 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβάρ(ε)ιουσουν] 1592
-(ε)ιούσουν
  verbs
    2 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιούσουν] 1592

-(ε)ιοῦστε/-(ε)ιοῦσθε
  verbs
    2 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιοῦστε] 1593
    2 pl. pres. imp. pass., [βαρ(ε)ιοῦστε] 1657
-είσουν
  verbs
    2 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρείσουν] 1592
-(ε)ιῶντο
  verbs
    3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρ(ε)ιῶντο] 1593
-εμεν
  verbs
    1 pl. aor. ind. act., [ἐγράψεμεν] 1615
    1 pl. aor. ind. pass., [ἐγράφθεμεν] 1629
    1 pl. imperf. act., [ἐγράφεμεν] 1533
-εν
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. act., [ἐβάρεν] 1571
-ένιος
  adjectives
    masc. nom. sg., [μαρμαρένιος] 738
-ένος
  adjectives
    masc. nom. sg., [μαρμαρένος] 738
-έντα
  gerund, participles. See -ντα
-έντας
  gerund, participles. See -ντας
-ενταν
  verbs
    3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφενταν] 1546
-εντον
  verbs
    3 sg. aor. ind. middle, [ἄρξεντον] 1763
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφεντον] 1544
-έου
  nouns
    fem. gen. sg., [πολέου] 552
-ες
  adjectives
    masc. nom. sg., [πρεζέντες] 792
  nouns
    fem. nom./acc./voc. pl., [φύσες] 552, [δύναμες] 560, [πάρτες] 587
    masc. nom. sg., [Πολίτες] 376, [λεβάντες, πρέντσιπες] 432
  verbs
    2 sg. imperf. act., [ἐβάρες] 1571
-ές
  nouns
    masc. nom. sg., [πουλητές] 360, [βασιλές] 403, [μαμελές] 428
  verbs
    2 sg. aor. imp. act., [ἰδές] 1675

-εσουν/-έσουν
  verbs
    2 sg. aor. ind. middle, [ἐκαυχήσεσουν]
      1763
    2 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφεσουν] 1544
-εταν
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφεταν] 1544
    2 pl. aor. ind. act., [ἐγράψεταν] 1615
-ετουν
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφετουν]
      1544
-η
  adjectives
    neut. gen. sg., [μαυρομάτη] 779
-ή
  fem. nom./acc./voc. sg., [εὐγενή] 763
-ῆ
  adjectives
    masc. gen. sg., [εὐγενῆ] 763
-ήγεσθε
  verbs
    2 pl. imperf. pass. [ἐβαρήγεσθε] 1593
-ήγεσουν
  verbs
    2 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρήγεσουν]
      1592
-ήγετο
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρήγετο] 1529
-ηγόμασθε
  verbs
    1 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρηγόμασθε] 1593
-ήγομουν
  verbs
    1 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρήγομουν] 1592
-ηγόντησαν
  verbs
    3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρηγόντησαν] 1593
-ηγόσασθε
  verbs
    2 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρηγόσασθε] 1593
-ήγουνταν
  verbs
    3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρήγουνταν] 1593
-ηδες
  adjectives
    masc. nom./acc./voc. pl., [ἀπομονάρηδες] 729,
      [μαυρομάτηδες] 779
  nouns
    masc. nom./acc./voc. pl., [τραδιτόρηδες]
      272, [πάπηδες] 306, [δούκηδες] 324,
      [ἀγέρηδες] 331, [κουρτέσηδες] 376,
      [βεζίρηδες] 389, [proper names] 456

-ῆδες
  nouns
    fem. nom./acc./voc. pl., [ἀδελφῆδες] 537,
      [εὐγενῆδες] 762
    masc. nom./acc./voc. pl., [κατῆδες] 384,
      [Γλυκῆδες] 753
-ηεν
  verbs
    3 sg. aor. ind. pass., [ἐχάρηεν] 1629
-ηκα
  verbs
    1 sg. aor. ind. pass., [ἐγράφθηκα] 1629
-ηκάμαν
  verbs
    1 pl. aor. ind. pass., [ἐγράφθηκάμαν] 1629
-ήκασι
  verbs
    3 pl. aor. ind. pass. [ἐγραφθήκασι] 1629
-ήκετε
  verbs
    2 pl. aor. ind. pass., [ἐγραφθήκετε] 1629
-ημαν
  verbs
    1 pl. aor. ind. pass., [ἐγράφθημαν] 1629
-ηνα
  verbs
    1 sg. aor. ind. pass., [ἐγράφθηνα], 1629
-ης
  adjectives
    masc. nom. sg., [ἀπομονάρης] 728,
      [μαυρομάτης] 779, [μικρούλης] 786
  nouns
    fem. nom./voc. sg., [Κρήτης, τύχης]
    masc. nom. sg., [μάστορης] 340, [βεζίρης] 388
-ής
  adjectives
    masc. nom. sg., [κιρμιζής] 788
  nouns
    masc. nom. sg., [κατής] 384
-ησε
  verbs
    2 sg. aor. imp. pass., [γράφθησε] 1664
-ητα
  nouns
    neut. nom./acc./voc. pl., [δάσητα] 665
-ιά
  adjectives
    fem. nom./acc./voc. sg., [κακιά] 691,
      [κιρμιζιά] 788
-ιάδες
  nouns
    fem. nom./acc./voc. pl., [ἀνηψιάδες]
      519
    masc. nom./acc./voc. pl., [βασιλιάδες]
      404

-ιάς
  nouns
    masc. nom. sg., [βασιλιάς] 403
-ίας
  nouns
    masc. nom. sg., [βασιλίας] 403
-ιᾶται
  verbs
    3 sg. pres. ind./subj. pass., [βαριᾶται] 1478
-ιε-
  verbs. See -(ε)ιε-
-ιένται
  verbs
    3 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γρικιένται] 1479
-ικον
  adjectives
    neut. nom./acc./voc. sg., [ἀπομονάρικον] 728,
      [μαυρομάτικον] 779
-ίματα
  nouns
    neut. nom./acc./voc. pl., [γραψίματα] 657
-ίματος
  nouns
    neut. gen. sg., [γραψίματος] 657
-ιμάτου
  nouns
    neut. gen. sg., [γραψιμάτου] 657
-ιμον
  nouns
    neut. nom./acc./voc. sg., [γράψιμον] 657
-ιν
  adjectives
    neut. nom./acc./voc. sg., [ἀπομονάριν] 728,
      [μαυρομάτιν] 779, [μικρούλιν] 786
-ίν
  adjectives
    neut. nom./acc./voc. sg., [κιρμιζίν] 788
-ιο-
  verbs. See -(ε)ιο-
-ιόδες
  nouns
    masc. nom./gen./acc. pl., [δανειστιόδες] 451
-ιόν
  nouns
    fem. nom./acc./voc. sg., [κονδιτσιόν] 580
-ιόνες
  nouns
    fem. nom./acc./voc. pl., [κονδιτσιόνες] 580
-ιός
  nouns
    fem. nom. sg., [κονδιτσιός] 580
    fem. gen. sg., [κονδιτσιός] 580
    masc. nom. sg., [δανειστιός] 451
-ιότες
  nouns

masc. nom./gen./acc. pl., [δανειστιότες] 451
-ιου-
  verbs. See -(ε)ιου-
-ιούς
  nouns
    masc. gen. pl., [δανειστιούς]
-ι(ς)/-ί(ς)
  adverbs, [γλήγορι(ς), ὁλημερί(ς)] 838
-ισσα
  adjectives
    fem. nom./acc./voc. sg., [μαυρομάτισσα] 779
-ιω-
  verbs. See -(ε)ιω-
-ιῶς/-ιός
  nouns
    masc. gen. sg., [βασιλιῶς] 403
-μαν
  nouns
    neut. nom./acc./voc. sg., [γράμμαν, ὄνομαν]
      646
-μας
  nouns
    neut. nom./acc./voc. sg., [αἷμας] 646
-ματιοῦ
  nouns
    neut. gen. sg., [στρωματιοῦ] 646
-ματίων
  nouns
    neut. gen. pl., [φορτωματίων] 646
-μάτου
  nouns
    neut. gen. sg., [γραμμάτου, ὀνομάτου]
      646
-ντα
  participles
    neut. nom./acc. sg., [ἔχοντα, ὄντα, ρηθέντα]
      811
  verbs
    aor. gerund, [ἀποθανόντα] 1697, [γράψοντα/-
      αντα, σταθόντα/-έντα] 1697
    pres. gerund, [γράφο(υ)ντα, γρικῶντα,
      βαρούντα] 1697
-ντας
  verbs
    aor. gerund, [ἀποθανόντας] 1697,
      [γράψοντα/-αντα] 1698
    pres. Gerund, [γράφο(υ)ντας/-αντας,
      γρικῶντας, βαρούντας] 1697
  participles
    masc. nom. sg., [γράφοντας, παρόντας,
      εἰρηθέντας] 811
-ντες
  verbs
    aor. gerund, [ἀποθάνοντες] 1697
    pres. gerund, [γράφοντες, γρικῶντες] 1697

-ντος
  verbs
    aor. gerund, [ἐλθόντος] 1698
-ο
  nouns
    fem./masc. nom./gen./voc. sg., [Ρόδο, Δῆμο]
        272, [σύνοδο, Ἱερώνυμο] 285
-ό
  nouns
    fem./masc. nom. sg., [Δαμασκό, γαμπρό] 262
    masc. gen. sg., [προγονό] 262
    masc. voc. sg., [Κλιτοβό] 262
-οι
  adjectives
    masc. nom. pl., [μαυρομάτοι] 779
  nouns
    masc. nom./voc. pl., [κοράκοι] 340;
        [Βαρούχοι] 457
-ομαν
  verbs
    1 pl. pres. ind./subj. act., [γράφομαν] 1435
-όμαστε/-όμασθε
  verbs
    1 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γραφόμαστε]
        1446, [γρικόμαστε] 1478
    1 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφόμαστε] 1545
-όμαστον
  verbs
    1 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφόμαστον] 1544
-όμεθεν
  verbs
    1 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφόμεθεν] 1544
    1 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γραφόμεθεν] 1446
-όμεστα/-όμεσθα
  verbs
    1 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφόμεστα] 1545,
        [ἐγρικόμεστα] 1593
    1 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γραφόμεστα] 1446
-όμεστε/-όμεσθε
  verbs
    1 pl. aor. ind. middle, [ἐγενόμεσθεν] 1763
    1 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφόμεστε] 1544
    1 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γραφόμεστε] 1446
-ομουν
  verbs
    1 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφομουν] 1543
-όμουν
  verbs
    1 sg. aor. ind. middle, [ἐγινόμουν] 1763
    1 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφόμουν] 1543,
        [ἐγρικόμουν] 1592
-ονας
  adjectives
    masc. nom. sg., [ἐλεήμονας] 773

-ονμου/-όνμου
  verbs
    1 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφονμου] 1543
-ονος
  adjectives
    masc. nom. sg., [ἐλεήμονος] 773
  nouns
    masc. gen. sg., [Σούτονος] 272
-οντα/-όντα
  gerund, participles. See -ντα
-ονταν/-όνταν
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφονταν] 1544,
        [ἐγραφόνταν] 1544
    3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφονταν] 1546,
        [ἐγραφόνταν] 1546
-όνταν/-ῶνταν
  verbs
    3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγρικόνταν], 1593
-οντας/-όντας
  gerund, participles. See -ντας
-όντασι
  verbs
    3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφόντασι] 1546
-όντασι/-ῶντασι
  verbs
    3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγρικόντασι] 1593
-οντες/-όντες
  gerund. See -ντες
-όντεσαν
  verbs
    3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφόντεσαν] 1546
-όντησαν
  verbs
    3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφόντησαν] 1546,
        [ἐγρικόντησαν] 1593
-οντο
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφοντο] 1544
-οντος/-όντος
  gerund. See -ντος
-οντου
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφοντου] 1544
    3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφοντου] 1546
-όντουσαν
  verbs
    3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφόντουσαν] 1546
-όντουσταν
  verbs
    3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφόντουσταν] 1546
-ος
  adjectives
    fem. gen. sg., [βεργόλικος] 693

  nouns
    fem./masc. gen. sg., [Ρόδος, Ματθαῖος], 272,
        [Κόρινθος, Πίνδαρος] 285
    fem. gen. sg., [γέφυρος] 494
-ός
  adjectives
    masc. nom. sg., [γλυκός] 745
  nouns
    fem. gen. sg., [κοπελός] 474
    fem./masc. gen. sg., [ὁδός, Νικολός] 262
    masc. gen. sg., [ἀμιρός] 306
-οσιν
  verbs
    3 pl. imperf. act., [ἐγράφοσιν] 1533
    See also -ωσιν
-οσουν
  verbs
    2 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφοσουν] 1544
    2 sg. pres. imp. pass., [γράφοσουν] 1651
-όσουν/-ῶσουν
  verbs
    2 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγρικόσουν] 1592
    2 sg. pres. imp. pass., [γρικόσουν] 1657
-όστενε
  verbs
    2 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφόστενε] 1545
-όταν
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφόταν] 1545,
        [ἐγρικόταν] 1592
-οτον/-ότον
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφοτον] 1544,
        [ἐγραφότον] 1544, [ἐγρικότον] 1592
-οτουν/-ότουν
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφοτουν] 1544,
        [ἐγραφότουν] 1544, [ἐγρικότουν]
        1592
-ου
  adjectives
    masc. gen. sg., [ἀπομονάρου] 728
  adverbs, [ὑστέρου] 840
  nouns
    fem. gen. sg., [θαλάσσου] 494
    masc. gen. sg., [κοράκου] 340
  verbs
    2 sg. aor. imp. pass., [γράψου] 1664
-ού
  nouns
    fem. nom./acc./voc. sg., [ἀλουπού] 570
-οῦ
  nouns
    fem. gen. sg., [γυναικοῦ] 474
    masc. gen. sg., [μηνοῦ] 316

-οῦδες
  nouns
    fem. nom./acc./voc. pl., [ἀλουπούδες] 571
    masc. nom./acc./voc. pl., [παππούδες] 424,
        [κυροῦδες] 457
-οῦμαν
  verbs
    1 pl. imperf. act., [ἐβαροῦμαν] 1571
-ούμασταν/-ούμασθαν
  verbs
    1 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφούμασταν] 1545,
        [ἐγρικούμασταν] 1593
-ούμαστε/-ούμασθε
  verbs
    1 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφούμαστε] 1545,
        [ἐβαρούμαστε] 1593
    1 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γραφούμαστε]
        1446, [βαρούμαστε] 1478
-ούμαστον
  verbs
    1 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γραφούμαστον]
        1446
-ουμε
  verbs
    1 pl. aor. subj. act., [γράψουμε] 1498,
        [ἔλθουμε] 1515
    1 pl. pres. ind./subj. act., [γράφουμε]
        1435
-ούμεθεν
  verbs
    1 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρούμεθεν] 1593
    1 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γραφούμεθεν]
        1446, [βαρούμεθεν] 1478
-ούμεστα/-ούμεσθα
  verbs
    1 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφούμεστα] 1545,
        [ἐβαρούμεστα] 1593
    1 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γραφούμεστα]
        1446, [βαρούμεστα] 1478/ 8
-ούμεστε/-ούμεσθε
  verbs
    1 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφούμεστε] 1544,
        [ἐβαρούμεστε] 1593
    1 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γραφούμεστε]
        1446, [βαρούμεστε] 1478
-ουμην/-ούμην
  verbs
    1 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφουμην]
        1543
-ουμουν
  verbs
    1 sg. aor. ind. middle, [ἐγένουμουν]
        1763
    1 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφουμουν] 1543,
        [ἐβάρουμουν] 1592

-ούμουν
  verbs
    1 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφούμουν] 1543, [ἐβαρούμουν] 1592
-ουν
  verbs
    3 pl. aor. subj. act., [γράψουν] 1498, [ἔλθουν] 1515
    3 pl. pres. ind./subj. act., [γράφουν] 1435
-οῦν
  verbs
    3 pl. aor. subj. pass., [γραφτοῦν] 1508
    3 pl. pres. ind./subj. act., [βαροῦν] 1461
-ουνα
  verbs
    1 sg. imperf. act., [ἐβάρουνα] 1571
-ουνε
  verbs
    2 sg. pres. imp. act., [βάρουνε] 1653
-ουνμου
  verbs
    1 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφουνμου] 1543, [ἐβάρουνμου] 1592
-ουνσου
  verbs
    2 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφουνσου] 1544
-ουντα/-ούντα
  gerund. See -ντα
-ουνται
  verbs
    3 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γράφουνται] 1446
-ουνταν
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφουνταν] 1544
    3 pl. aor. ind. middle, [ἐγένουνταν] 1763
    3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφουνταν] 1546
-οῦνταν
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαροῦνταν] 1592
    3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαροῦνταν] 1593
-ουντας/-ούντας
  gerund. See -ντας
-ούντασι
  verbs
    3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφούντασι] 1546, [ἐβαρούντασι] 1593
-ούντησαν
  verbs
    3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρούντησαν] 1593
-ουντο
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφουντο] 1544
    3 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφουντο] 1546

-οῦντο
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαροῦντο] 1592
-ους
  nouns
    fem. gen. sg., [Πάφους] 272, [Μύκονους] 285
    masc. nom. sg., [πάππους] 423
-οῦς
  nouns
    fem./masc. gen. sg., [ὁδοῦς, Νεκτεναβοῦς] 262
    fem. gen. sg., [νυχτοῦς] 474
    masc. gen. sg., [μηνοῦς] 316
    masc. nom. sg., [παπποῦς] 423
-οῦσα
  verbs
    1 sg. imperf. act., [ἐβαροῦσα] 1571
-ούσασθε
  verbs
    2 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐβαρούσασθε] 1593
-ούσασι
  verbs
    3 pl. imperf. act., [ἐβαρούσασι] 1571
-ούσετε
  verbs
    2 pl. imperf. act., [ἐβαρούσετε] 1571
-οῦσθε
  verbs. See -οῦστε
-ουσουν
  verbs
    2 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφουσουν] 1544, [ἐγρίκουσουν] 1592
    2 sg. pres. imp. pass., [γράφουσουν] 1651
-ούσουν
  verbs
    2 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφούσουν] 1544, [ἐβαρούσουν] 1592
    2. sg. pres. imp. pass., [βαρούσουν] 1657
-ουσταν/-ουσθαν
  verbs
    2 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφουσταν] 1545
-οῦστε/-οῦσθε
  verbs
    2 pl. imperf. pass., [ἐγραφοῦστε] 1545, [ἐγρικοῦστε] 1593
    2 pl. pres. imp. pass., [γραφοῦστε] 1651, [βαροῦστε] 1657
    2 pl. pres. ind./subj. pass., [γραφοῦστε] 1446, [βαροῦστε] 1478
-οῦτον
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐβαροῦτον] 1592
-ουτουν
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγράφουτουν] 1544

-σου
  verbs
    2 sg. aor. imp. pass., [στάσου] 1664
-ύ
  adjectives
    masc./neut. gen. sg., [βαθύ] 746
-ύς
  adjectives
    masc. nom. sg., [πικρύς] 745
-ω
  nouns
    fem. nom./acc./voc. sg., [Μάρω] 576
-ῶ
  verbs
    1 sg. aor. subj. act., [ἐλθῶ] 1515
-ώντα
  gerund. See -ντα
-ῶνταν
  verbs. See -όνταν

-ώντας
  gerund. See -ντας
-ῶντασι
  verbs. See -όντασι
-ώντες
  gerund. See -ντες
-ῶντον
  verbs
    3 sg. imperf. pass., [ἐγρικῶντον] 1592
-ωσιν/-οσιν
  verbs
    3 pl. pres. ind. act., [γράφωσιν] 1435
-ωσουν
  verbs. See -όσουν
-Ø
  nouns
    masc. gen./acc. sg., [Ἀγάπ'] 388
  verbs
    3 sg. aor. ind. pass., [ἐγράφθ'] 1629